LEBANESE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY

THE POLEMICS OF IDENTITY: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF OTHERNESS IN CRUSADE TEXTS

BY

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A thesis
submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts in Comparative Literature

School of Arts and Sciences
May 2013



Lebanese American University
School of Arts and Sciences - Beirut Campus

Thesis Proposal Form

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The 'Mirage' of the Other in Crusades

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None

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Dedication

To my loving family,
Thank you for all the love and support in the world.

And to Haytham,
There are no words…

The Polemics of Identity:
A Comparative Study of Otherness in Crusade Texts

Sarah Ghamlouche

Abstract

This thesis aims at understanding the means through which identity is constructed in terms of religion and ethnicity. A survey of some of the most polemic primary sources produced during the period of the crusades is conducted to highlight the methodologies for differentiation from both sides of the Spectrum: Arab-Muslim and Latin Christian. Furthermore, several secondary sources are used to both present and explain this polemic of Otherness.

Keywords: Crusades, Identity, Other, Muslim, Christian, Religion, Ethnicity

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

"Oh what a disgrace if a race so despised, based and the instrument of demons should so overcome a people endowed with faith in the all-powerful God, and resplendent with the name of Christ!"[1]

The crusades are a major episode in the history of the Middle East. Spanning over two centuries, and resulting in the rise and fall of many heroes, knights, villains, popes and kings; the crusades present a period of time when the Western and Eastern worlds met on a battlefield that would decide the tone of the relationship between the two worlds for a very long time. The reasons behind the crusades were many, but the spark that started it all was request for aid against the Seljuk Turks made by the Byzantine Emperor at the time, Alexios I Komnenos, in 1094. Pope Urban II answered this request in 1095 in his speech at the council of Clermont, in which he called for those assembled to act as true "shepherds…[and to] see that you do not act as hirelings" [2] (Krey 27). Indeed, he called upon them to help their fellow Christians in the East since they are desperate for help. Urban II argued that the "Turks and Arabs" have devastated the Byzantine Empire with their constant war mongering, and urged those in attendance to "destroy that vile race from the lands of our friends," claiming immediate reprise from all sins if one were to die in pursuit of such a just and holy cause (Krey 29).

After the speech, a great fervor to defend the holy lands began. In fact "the wide- spread enthusiasm for the movement and participation in it assured its commemoration not only in monuments of stone but in a variety of writings as well" (Krey v). Truly, those who participated in the crusades were from all walks of life and from all ages. This leaves no room for doubt in understating the importance and

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[1] Pope Urban II, Council of Clermont, 1095. The full speech can be found in August Krey's book *The*

[2] While the exact speech did not survive, it was retold by numerous chroniclers of the crusades including Fulcher of Charters and Guibert of Nogent. The full speech, as preserved in Fulcher's chronicle, is found in Appendix A: "Full Text of Select Sources."

significance of such a supreme effort by medieval Europeans to, literally, step outside their comfort zone. Therefore, with the call to arms raised, so was the call to pens so to speak. As with every great phase of human existence, literary expression once again presents itself as a major insight into this monumental event. Chroniclers, poets, soldiers, and priests have all left behind their perspective of this episode, and in this perspective, we can find a representation of their understanding of the world they were encountering for the first time.

However, the crusades were also experienced by the chroniclers, poets, soldiers, priests and sheykhs of the East, and naturally, as the people being invaded, their perspective is quite different. Where the Western world was taking action, the Eastern one was merely reacting to the invasion. Indeed, Arab-Muslim writers were, to a certain extent, uninterested in the motivations behind the crusades. To them, the crusaders were invaders, trying to take the land that they, as a people and an *umma*, conquered and assimilated with long ago notes Muḥammad Sayīd Kīlānī. Kīlānī writes that only Ibn al-Athīr presents a cursory glance into the possible motivations for the crusades, yet he confused the crusades with the Spanish wars against Muslim in al-Andalus[3] (7). Interestingly, contemporary Muslim chroniclers did not apply the term crusade wars – *ḥurūb ṣalībiyyah* in Arabic - to these wars. Indeed, the term appears only in passing in the writing of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya[4], where he refers to Christians as *al-umma al-ṣalībiyyah* i.e. the nation of the cross (Kīlānī 9).

Since the crusades are a major episode in the history of the Middle East, if the literature produced by that period is carefully studied comparatively from both sides, critical insight into the components of that era can be gained. In fact, comparative literature has always been a means to understand the layers of a society, of an event, and

[3] Refer to Chapter Two, section 2.2 "Arab Chroniclers Understanding of Motivations for Crusades" for more details.
[4] Died c. 1350. Muḥammad Ibn Abū Bakr, he was a jurist, commenter and theologian.

of a culture. As such, the war literature of the crusades is especially moving because it provides an insight into the human soul at its darkest hour and a means to compare the way each society or group conceived of the Other. Indeed, works of literature produced during times of war and great misfortune often become masterpieces such as the timeless depiction of Homer's *The Iliad* and Anne Frank's *The Diary of a Young Girl*. In fact, this study falls directly within the scope of literature as it examines historical chronicles and poems from that era, all of which are read comparatively in order to carefully extrapolate the dichotomy of Otherness from both sides.

The crusades provided a rich backdrop for both Western and Eastern literatures they allowed many an adventurous writer and poet to travel to distant lands and learn of a new world, a new people and a new way of life. Truly, the eyewitness accounts of the crusades provide unparalleled insight into medieval society since the time of the Roman Empire (Al'arīnī 4). As for the Arab world, a study into the literature of the crusades is significant because the crusades gave rise to new genres of literature in Arabic, based on the idea of *Jihād* and defending Muslims and the Muslim world, including "war literature, including the motivation to fight; the description of armies, war machines, and forts; in addition to literature aimed at highlighting the virtues of courage, chivalry, tournament, and dedication"[5] (Salām 170). Indeed, the rise of this new *Jihād* literature in the East is depicted by many poets, perhaps the most famous of which is Ibn Munīr al-Tarābulusī, dubbed the "war poet" (Tadmuri 7). The effect of the crusades on literature is vast and by understanding this effect, we can truly understand this turbulent period and how an image of the Other came into being.

In order to achieve an understanding of the Other, the dichotomies between what constructs the Self and the Other must be examined. Furthermore, the consideration of

[5] The translation is my own. The original in Arabic is
"أدب القتال، و الحض عليه، ووصف الجيوش وآلات الحرب، و الحصون، و إبراز فضائل الشجاعة و النخوة، و البطولة و التفاني."

the cultural identity of the Other is wholly within the framework of comparative literature. Indeed, the benefits of understanding the psyche of a people are important to understand its literature and the means by which they identify themselves and others (Klautke 1).

The thesis comparatively examines a number of Arabic and Western sources in order to understand the relationship between each other, the mirage of the enemy or the 'Other' through a variety of both primary and secondary sources. Due to the nature of the sources themselves, some will be English translations from the original Latin or Arabic. The works examined will include *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh* by Ibn al-Athīr, *The Book of Contemplation* by Usāma Ibn Munqidh, and a selection of war poetry by Ibn Munīr al-ṭarabulsī and al-Abīwardī. As for Western writers, the works to be examined include the chronicles of Fulcher of Charters, Guibert of Nogent, Walter the Chancellor and the famous *chanson de geste*, *The Song of Roland*. These sources represent a variety of methodologies of writing including poetry, prose, journals and historical chroniclers. Through these sources, the wide kaleidoscope of religious and ethnic elements that form the dichotomy of the image of the Self and the Other will become evident (Kedar, *Crusade and Mission* 80). The first chapter will set up the historical background, motivation and Muslim reaction to the crusades, while chapters two and three will examine, respectively, the use of religion and ethnicity as benchmarks of differentiation.

CHAPTER TWO

CRUSADES & CRUSADE LITERATURE: MOTIVATION & INTERPRETATION

"Deus le volt"[6]

With the crusades, the East and the West met on the battlefield and both worlds were changed forever. In order to fully comprehend the lasting effect of the crusades, their motivations must be carefully examined. This series of religious wars affected both sides of spectrum and created a new means of identification for both sides. To understand the spark that ignited the crusades is crucial for comprehending the construction of the identity of the Other in its religious and ethnic constructs. Therefore, this introductory chapter aims at understanding the motivations of the crusades and their immediate effect, in terms of the rise of the *jihād* ideology on the Muslim world. This is the key to understand the polemics of Otherness.

2.1 Historical Overview & The Idea of Holy War

The crusades lasted for approximately two centuries; spanned nations, people and sects and reshaped the history and life of the East and the West in a series of epic battles for God and "dominion of a region sacred to both faiths" (Asbridge, *Crusades* 3). Scholars such as J. R. Smith have argued that the crusades are a generally Western phenomenon[7], and despite the important effect it left of Islamic consciousness, transient importance placed on them by contemporary Arab historians. As such, the crusades can be understood as a part of the "evolution of medieval Western Europe" as well as a changing force in Islam (Hillenbrand 1). Typically, the starting point is thought of as Pope Urban II's speech at the council of Clermont. This speech called for the a holy war to aid Constantinople against the Arabs and Turks, whose continued expansion threatened to take over the Byzantine Empire. This continued expansion prompted the

[6] "God wills it." It was the traditional battle cry of crusader knights.
[7] For more on this idea, refer to M. Billings. *The Cross and the Crescent*, London, 1987.

Byzantine emperor, Alexius I, to call for aid from to the Latin Christian Church despite the tension between the Latin and Eastern churches due to the East-West Schism[8]. It is arguable that this call for aid came to reinforce an idea already present in Urban II's mind and ambitions; one which would allow him to regain and rejuvenate the "prestige and influence of his office" by creating an armed pilgrimage to the East (Asbridge, *Crusades* 34). However, Arab chroniclers of the Crusades did not particularly write of the motivations and reasons of the crusade. Indeed, most did not link the "arrival of Western Europeans with…the appeals by Byzantium for Europe for help against the Turkish threat on its Eastern borders;" yet some, such as Ibn al-Athīr, Ibn al-Qalānsī and Ibn al-'Azimi attempt such an analysis[9] (Hillenbrand 50). In all cases, the call to arms offered to Urban not only the chance to defend Eastern Christendom, but also to reassert the power of the Latin Church across many lands in both Europe and the East.

However, the need and urgency for war had to be justified by creating an image of a savage enemy; one who does not hesitate to kill, to burn churches or to violate women. Relying heavily on graphic and provocative language, Urban II concludes his speech by claiming eternal salvation for those who undertake this holy quest – a scourge of all sins (Asbridge, *Crusades* 1). However, the crusades are not as simple as Christianity versus Islam or East versus West; but rather a war called against an Other. Truly, the various episodes of this period in history present a score of contradictions where the banner of crusading was raised against Christians and the call for *Jihād* was made against Muslims (Phillips xvii). By understanding the historical make-up of the crusades as presented in the literature produced in that era on both sides, we can understand the development of the construction of the identity and the image of the

[8] Sometimes referred to as 'The Great Schism.' It represents the medieval division of Christianity into an Eastern (Greek) church and a Western (Latin) church starting 1053. The two churches suffered long and bitter disputes due to ecclesiastical and theological differences.
[9] This will be discussed further in section 2.2 "Arab Chroniclers Understanding of Motivation for Crusades."

Other.

Unlike Islam, where the idea of *Jihād*, or a struggle in the name of God, is found within the canon and make up of the religion itself[10]; in Christianity, the idea of holy or just war was one that had to be explained as there is a "long and important tradition of … pacifism" in Christian theology (Langan 19). While in Islam the idea of *Jihād* developed and adapted according to the needs of the Muslim *umma* at the time, Muḥammad did not hesitate away from the idea of spreading religion with the sword when his followers were numerous and competent enough. Up until the crusades; however, the West had never given a "full and unqualified blessing" to war (Cowdrey 18). In fact, the idea of Just War is a "synthesis of classical Greco-Roman, as well as Christian, values" (Oren 4). In around the year 400 AD, St. Augustine of Hippo wrote his polemical *Contra Faustus*, a major theme of which is the justification and continuity of the Old and New Testaments and the application of war, thereby bringing the Christian theological idea of just war to a start (Langan 20). Furthermore, Augustine argues for the need for a divine authority to instigate a war against an evil enemy. As such, war itself becomes a necessary evil so long as there is no true love for the violence of war,

> What is the evil in War? It is the death of some who will soon die in any case, that others may live in peaceful subjection? This is mere cowardly dislike, not any religious feeling. The real evil in war are love of violence, revengeful cruelty, fierce and implacable enmity, wild resistance, and the lust of power and such like (Augustine 301).

These lines explain how Augustine tried to reconcile the idea of war with the pacifism of Christianity. In order for war to have a just cause, it must be undertaken for the sake of others – so that they may live in relative peace, and is therefore no longer evil in essence. Augustine expounds on the true nature of evil, claiming that it is only the love

[10] Refer to Jean Fleury's *Guerre Sainte Jihād, Croisade: Violence et religion dans la Chrétienté et l'islasm*. Trans. Ghasān Maisoū, 2004 for a detailed explanation of the development of *Jihād* in Islam.

of violence and pillaging that make war evil. In fact, the debate for just war in Christianity would pass by the crusades and into the writings of Thomas Aquinas in the late eleventh century.

As such, in Christian theology, an entire philosophical concept was needed to understand the need for war as only two kinds of war were 'allowed': holy war and just war. A holy war, like the crusades, fought for the sake of faith, is *de facto* a just war, and participation is an obligation (Gomes 3). Compounded with the image of otherness of the Muslims created by Urban II: as heathens, rapists, and murderers, who have taken the city of Christ, the perfect motivation for war was created. Truly, until Church officials sanctified a war that would benefit only those involved, a crusade was impossible (Cowdrey 19).

Those who went to fight in the crusades went to fight for an ideal: to suffer in the name of Christ. According to Cowdrey, aside from the religious motivation, knights and soldiers gave little attention to the events in the East that caused this need to defend Christ. As a matter of fact, it is arguable that there was no particular dissension between the two worlds – at least, not one grievous enough to cause an exodus of the proportions of the crusade. Approximately twenty years before the crusades, Gregory VII, the pope at the time, wrote to the sultan of present day Algeria, "you and we aught to love each other…perhaps more than other races of men, because we believe and confess one God, albeit in different ways" (qtd. Hamilton 373). However, this view of Islam and Muslims was not common or popular, as Benjamin Kedar argues, due to a general lack of interest in the subject[11]. As such, the sudden need to defend Christ and his followers in the East was probably cushioned by other, worldly needs, such as the need to find an outlet for the rise of the population in Europe, an external vent for martial zeal, and desire for land

[11] For more details, refer to Kedar's *Crusade and Mission*, esp. pg. 3-41.

since it was better than Christians killing Christians (Cowdrey 20). Thus, the rise of the knights and military orders, and the transformation of knighthood into a vocation required a means for release. Since peace was the foundation of Christian society, then an appropriate outlet was needed for a knight's vocation: war (Cowdrey 16). This element is seen in the glorification of knights on holy quests in the *chanson de geste*, as for example, *The Song of Roland*, which tells the story of the knight Roland and his fight against Muslims in Spain during the time of Charlemagne, noting that the work inaccurately depicts Muslims as idolaters who worship a trinity of Gods (Hamilton 374, Burgess 29, 42, 48). This image of Muslims is clearly linked to creating an Other, as opposed to the image of the Christians: the true believers, the warriors of God[12].

For whatever reasons, Alexios I's call for aid was answered, not as he expected by a few thousand mercenaries who can be easily controlled, but rather, by a legion of Europeans from every class and order. However, before this army of Christ could reach the East, they had to actually gather and convene, a lengthy process even in modern times. In the meantime, moved by the fervor of his faith, Peter the Hermit took up the cause of Urban II and raised an army of poor rabble numbering around 15,000 to make a slow and ill-disciplined march towards the holy lands; well in advance of any other army. This ill-fated 'People's Crusade,' along the way to the East, decided to carry out God's will and vengeance against all his enemies, including those close to home as seen in the massacre of the Rhineland Jews. The 'People's Crusade' was annihilated upon entering Muslim territories (Asbridge, *Crusades* 41). Yet, by November 1096, the true armies of West began to arrive in Constantinople, much to Alexios I's disdain and dread, as accounted by his daughter and biographer, Anna Komnene in *The Alexiad*. Indeed, the early encounters between the Greek and Latin counterparts were fraught with mistrust and suspicion (Asbridge, *Crusades* 48). Truly, while they were both

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[12] Refer to Chapter Three, section 3.3.2 "*The Song of Roland*."

Christian, one was Eastern and the other Western, not to mention the already existing tension between the two divisions of the church due to the Great Schism.

2.2 Arab Chroniclers Understanding of the Motivations for Crusades

The crusades cannot be thought of as a stand-alone episode in history. The two centuries of war between the East and the West represent the culmination of a series of events that began before the birth of Christ (Al-Naqāsh 8). In the Muslim world, the arrival of the crusaders was seen as a barbaric invasion by a land hungry enemy wanting to claim the East as it was "rich beyond all impoverished dreaming" (Treece 94). Indeed, most contemporary scholars of the crusades did not expound on the motivations of the crusades. From the earliest surviving sources of the crusades, Ibn al-Qalānsī and Ibn al-'Azimī, the former simply writes that the Franks arrived, but never expounds on the reasons for their coming while the latter links the arrival of the Franks to the idea that Christian pilgrims were prevented from entering the Holy Land in 1093/4 while simultaneously providing a description for the general movement of Franks from Spain, to North Africa to the Levant, thereby linking the arrival of the crusaders in the Holy Land to the fall of Toledo[13] in 1068 and the fall of Mahdiyya[14] in 1086 (Hillenbrand 51). In his universal history, *Al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, Ibn al-Athīr briefly remarks that the Franks were hungry for lands in the East and their kings were busy squabbling with each other; which he presents in a short fictionalized anecdote of Baldwin's desire for land and Roger's reaction and concern over his own holding in Sicily (Ibn al-Athīr, 10: 126, Al-Naqāsh 18, Hillenbrand 52). Ibn al-Athīr does mention a slight religious tendency in the motivation for the crusades, but his explanation is weak and brief. At most, these presentations of the motivations provide mere 'hints' rather than true analysis and understanding of geopolitical motivations and causes. Truly, the idea of a

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[13]Located in modern day Spain. The Arabic word for the city is طليلة.
[14] City on the coast of North Africa.

holy war being instigated against Muslims to regain the land of Christ was not present in the works of Arab chroniclers of the time. Interestingly, even the crusades themselves were not chronicled in separate volumes dedicated to them as a monumental happening in the Arab-Islamic world as they are a Western phenomenon and were seen by Arab-Muslim chroniclers to be nothing more than wars with an enemy. Instead, the history of the crusades from a Muslim perspective must be pieced together from various universal histories, histories of dynasties and of cities (Hillenbrand 9). In fact, when considering the multitude of Arab-Muslim chronicles on the crusades, the greatest commonality between them is the hostile attitude towards the invaders, not an attempt at analyzing the reasons behind this sudden invasion or its military aims (Gabrieli xv). Rather, their major concern, aside from documenting the events, is distinguishing between 'us' and 'them'[15].

While the people of the East were familiar with Westerners as pilgrims, their understanding of the West was simplistic in lumping crusaders as *franj* or Franks, despite the numerous other types of Westerners. Indeed, even the crusades were referred to as "*ḥurūb al-franj*" or the wars of the Franks despite the participation of peoples other than the Franks (Al-Naqāsh 14). In fact, the Arabic equivalent of the crusade, *al- ḥurūb ṣalībiyyah*, derived from the Arabic word for cross, *ṣalīb*, thereby imbuing the period with a religious connotation, was added in the nineteenth and twentieth century (Hillenbrand 31). This simplistic understanding, combined with the inability or unwillingness to expound on the possible motivations of the horde of crusaders invading the East is perhaps due to the fact that the crusades took the Muslim world by surprise, for while the Muslims were familiar with wars against the Byzantine Christians, the sudden invasion by the Latin crusaders took the Muslim world by surprise (Gabrieli xii).

[15] For an overview of the major themes of the Arab chronicles, refer to Mājīd Fakhry. "The Crusades in Arab Historiography." *The Crusades: Other Experiences, Alternate Perspectives*. 2003

2.3 The Development of the Idea of *Jihād* in Muslim Thought

With the arrival of the crusaders on Eastern shores, the Muslims were faced with a difficult dilemma. Although the idea of *Jihād* was present in Muslim thought, ideology and dogma, at the time of the crusades, the great *foutouḥat* of the Muslim world were over and what remained of the idea of *Jihād* was the "battle cry of offended princes," while many princes and atabegs[16] did not see the need to fight unless it was of some personal interest or gain to them (Maalouf 21). As an ideology, *Jihād* developed with the rise of Islam, but at the time of the crusades, the idea of *Jihād* was in hibernation in Muslim thought (Hillenbrand 103). Commonly translated as 'holy war,' the term *Jihād* actually encompasses a wider meaning, one that developed with the rise of Islam and the need for expansion. Jean Fleury studies the development of the idea of *Jihād*, stating that the idea of it as an endeavor made with the sword was present in the ideology of Islam since the days of Muḥammad, but it did not enter into a legal definition until after the age of Islamic conquests (68). Indeed, there are many different layers of meaning to the term *Jihād*, including *Jihād al-nafs*, *Jihād al-lisān*[17], to finally reach *Jihād bil-sayf*, or struggle with the sword (67). This means that while the idea of a struggle for the sake of God was present in Islamic thought, the idea of a 'holy war' itself was one that needed development.

The term *Jihād* is problematic to understand even for Muslims themselves as Islamic theologians and jurists are divided in their explanation of the term and the focus they place on the different meanings to the extent that R. S. Humphreys writes that "the concept of Jihād is a plastic one, which can be deployed in widely varying ways for varying ends" (Knapp 83; Humphreys 4). Except in conditions of direct attack, *Jihād*, in its military sense, was never meant to be followed by every individual Muslim (Knapp

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[16] Also *atabey*. It is a noble Turkish hereditary title, roughly translated as governor under a monarch or sultan.
[17] Struggle of the soul and struggle of the tongue respectively.

83). In fact, a commonly held belief in Islamic ideology is that the struggle against the corruption of the soul is a greater *Jihād* that the military struggle (84). In the early days of Islam, when Muḥammad was just starting his call for a one true deity, *Jihād* was not called for in the military sense probably because the Muslims were outnumbered. Later when the Muslims were starting to gain the upper hand and moved to al-Madina, a military sense to the term applied. With the rise of Islamic imperialism, the justification for expansion was needed, and a concept of an offensive *Jihād* was born. At the end of this military phase of Islamic development, the focus shifted and a more defensive meaning to term was applied – that is to defend the general well being of the Islamic *umma* (Fleury 77). This fluid understanding of the term was perhaps made possible due to the nature of divine inspiration in Islam and the theory of *al-ayāt al-nāsikha* in which a verse of the Quran no longer applies due to the inspiration of another one, more pertinent to the events facing Muḥammad at hand (78). By understanding the development of the philosophy of *Jihād* in Islamic thought, the Muslim reaction to the crusades can be placed into perspective. As noted above, by the time of the crusades, the idea of *Jihād* had become nothing more than slogan brandished by needy nobles and so the direct unified reaction to defend the holy land was not found. Truly, the crusades themselves are what gave rise to a new kind of literature in the Arab-Muslim world, *Jihād* literature (Salām 170). This is seen in Ṣalaḥ ad-Dīn's commission of various propagandist works exalting the idea of *Jihād* against the crusaders (Robinson 122).

2.4 Historical Narratives as Literary Narratives

When considering the period of the crusades, we must understand the literature produced at the time as a representation of that period and from it we can try to determine how the past relates to the present. The chronicles of Fulcher of Charters and Ibn Athīr, the *Jihād* poetry of Ibn Munīr and the lamentations of al-Abiurdī represent a historical narrative of a period of time fraught with chaos and uncertainty. In his "The

Historical Text as Literary Artifact" Hayden White writes that all historical narratives are literary artifacts in one sense or another, and as such must be considered in the realm of literary study as they are "verbal fictions, the contents of which are as much *invented* as *found*" (192). That is not to deny the historical value or truth found in any historical narrative, but to understand that like any other writer, a chronicler or war poet will phrase and re-phrase the events until such a time when they are pleasing to the audience, a strategy White calls "emplotment…the encodation of the facts contained in the chronicle as components of specified *kinds* of plot structures" (193). We can see elements of "emplotment" in Ibn Athīr's *Al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, a part of which includes a telling of the coming of the crusaders up until the time of Ṣalaḥ ad-Dīn. Ibn al-Athīr writes of the coming of the crusaders in the year 491 of the Muslim calendar (i.e. 1097) and while his writing is austere and moves annually, stating major events under specified headings in a few paragraphs before moving to the next year, he does briefly attempt to analyze reasons for the crusades and in many places gives his 'characters' motivations, personalities and distinct characteristics. In fact, in many places, the chronicle reads much like a story strung together by a common theme rather than the historical chronicle its intended to be. As White argues, "most historical sequences can be 'emplotted' in a number of different ways, so as to provide different interpretations" of the events; therefore, the historian or chronicler interprets a set of events to form a coherent story according to that which he believes to be the most possible turn of events (194). Indeed, these elements of emplottment appear in many of sources of the crusades including *The Song of Roland* and *The Book of Contemplation*.

In the writing of history, the line between fiction and fact can become blurred. Roland Barthes, in "The Discourse of History," argues that historical narratives are signifiers and signifieds, projected onto us by the historical narrator, and therefore it is up to us to attempt to understand the relationship between fact and fiction. Indeed,

Barthes's argument is based on the question of whether it is possible to differentiate the techniques used in imaginary narrative from those used in historical narratives. In *Metahistory*, White claims that the difference between history and drama is that history presents elements as they were lived, while drama presents elements as they are imagined, thereby allowing the historian to be artistic and creative, a sentiment also found in Hegel's *Phenomenology of the Mind*, *The Philosophy of Fine Art*, and *The Philosophy of History* (White 89), and, at least in the East, "most learned Muslim of that [classical] period…envisioned [the historian's activity] as a kind of narrative practice" (Robinson 6). Therefore, we can understand that historical texts are literary texts in their essence as the 'writer' shifts focus to some elements rather than others in terms of isochrony, and "objectivity is only an aspiration" (Robinson 13). Thus, historic writing requires careful consideration in order to reach the composite layers in its rhetorical language. This does not reduce from the value of historic text, nor does it declare it containing less knowledge; it only implies that "historical writing only arises from the competition between different versions" and it is therefore possible to consider it as a literary element to be examined using literary tools (Kansteiner 273).

2.5 Understanding The Other, its Construction and Role in Crusade Narrative

Defining the Other in definite terms is problematic; however, one such definition of Otherness is, simply put, difference. It encompasses a wealth of meaning from differences, as in the time of the crusades, in terms of religion, race, and ethnicity. The ancient Greek historian Herodotus presented a historical narrative of his travels in which he remarks on the different Others he came in contact with, including Egyptians, Scythians, Libyans, Indians and Persians (Kapuściński 19, Hartog 209). In a sense, Herodotus was not biased and presented poles of difference in more or less neutral terms, as clearly seen in his representation of women; which is not weighed down by gendered conventions (Grey 185). Furthermore, Kapuściński claims that Herodotus

sought to know the Other as he understood that "to know ourselves we have to know Others; who act as the mirror in which we see ourselves reflected," since identity is shaped by distinction from the Other (19). Furthermore, a narrative is also implicitly embedded with the narrator presenting the events, the addressee receiving, reliving or reproducing the events narrated and the Other: the polar opposite of the Self and simultaneously a mirror of it (Hartog 210). This is a stimulating thought because conception of the self presupposes alienation from the Other. In a sense, the self becomes another Other (Forrester 77). Likewise, this identity of the Self is also formulated in narrative accounts of who we think we are, as to be alive demands a constant production and reproduction of our personal life narrative (96). This individual life narrative, then, can be expanded into a historical narrative; one that explains the past of a specific group of people for them to understand who they are. Indeed, that is probably one of the allures of the study of history.

The idea of a distinctive Self and Other begins in children as they experience a 'lack' from their mother. This eventually causes them to become aware of themselves as unique beings and the mother as a separate being. This is where the boundaries begin (Forrester 77). This conception of difference continues to evolve until a more coherent understanding and association of a larger Self (i.e. us) and Other (i.e. them). Indeed, Forrester continues to argue that the "self begins to emerge only on recognizing the existence of a (separate) image," while defines the border in this dichotomy (Ibid.).

Conception of Otherness is by no means new. Since the time of the ancient Greeks, we find some kind of perception of Otherness. The Greeks believed anyone not Greek was barbarian, the Romans described people at the edges of their great empire as Others. After the fall of the Roman Empire, the idea of the Other developed in terms of Christianity as well; namely, anyone outside the borders of Christendom (Kaljundi 114).

This differentiation between Other and Self is important because the distinction itself become part of the linguistic system of signs and writing, making the concept even more complicated and problematic (Hartog 212). As such, in order to understand the Other in writing, we must give careful consideration to elements such as narrator, speaker, and rhetoric in order to be able to present an accurate reconstruction of Otherness. In addition to this, we must also bear in mind the problem of "translat[ing] the difference" between the world of the narrator and the world of the Other. This is because the narrator belongs to one set of people, while the events being narrated take place in another world; the problem lies with introducing the narrator's people to the Other world in terms in which they can imagine the Other (Hartog 213). It is thus the function of the narrator to represent the Other in terms related to his/her own people, thereby creating an inversion of them in this Other, or present the Other in terms of difference entirely; that is, the Other as new as seen in the works of Jean de Léry[18] and his description of the new world. The Clerk of Enghien; on the other hand, writes of men from the orient,

> In foreign nations they are not a bit
> Like they are here. You know truly that
> the Oriental is quite otherwise than we are[19] (qtd. Strickland 7)

Understanding the representation of the Other, as noted above, is achieved through language. Jacques Lacan; however, doesn't hold much faith in the idea of language being capable of capturing the true nature of reality (Gray 1). In Lacan's understanding of language and the Other, we are first drawn into the understanding of the Self in Lacan's Mirror Stage of infancy. Lacan, after observing a psychological experiment, theorized that the human child becomes self aware when they see their own reflection in the mirror; unlike infant chimpanzees[20], which quickly lose interest.

[18] Jean de Léry was a reformed pastor from France, who traveled to Brazil to visit a protestant colony.
[19] Qtd. Strickland, 7.
[20] One of mankind's closest relatives on the evolutionary scale.

Becoming self aware, then, is a comparative endeavor (Evan 49). Bearing that in mind, we can also infer that without the "visual presence of others, the maturing process is delayed" (Wilden 160). This means that at that early stage of development, the mirror image of the self become the first Other. This experience of identifying oneself with an image provides explanation of how the Self is an imaginary construct, to which the Other is also imaginary. As the child develops, so the sense of Self and Other is developed via language, and the process of identification becomes an infinite loop of catching up with the mirror image. Emmanuel Levinas further develops the idea of the Other, claiming that "addressing the other is inseparable from understanding the other" (*Entre-Nous* 6). Levinas claims that the relation with the Other stems from a curiosity and a desire to understand the Other. Language serves as the means to understand this *Other*, and so thought and language become inseparable (7). Therefore, language is used to express and interpret the Other, and yet it cannot encompass the gap between consciousness and the Other (32). This becomes problematic because the Other will be removed from its alteration, to the Self causing what Levinas calls the "imperialism of the self;" namely describing the Other in terms of what the Self knows and understands (or thinks it does) (Levinas, 'Philosophy and the Idea of Infinity' 50).

2.6 Concluding Remarks

At the time of the crusades, the literary authors of the time perceived the East as a threat to all of Christendom, not only militarily speaking, but also spiritually – a group of people intent of annihilating Christianity; and so a need to create Christian oneness was imperative for any author who wished to have a patron (Cordery 88). Indeed, it is arguable that the rhetoric of the crusades found in literary texts of the time played a major role in propagating the idea of the crusading and the holy war, probably more so than any call, preaching or 'campaigning' made by Urban II (Tyerman 21). Therefore, clearly defining an 'us' versus 'them' was needed, and the 'them' were numerous

indeed; from Scandinavians, Danes, Norwegians to North Africans and those from the near East (Cordery 89). The question of the time probably was "Where do *we* end and *they* begin?" Naturally, the superiority of 'us' is found on both sides, and indeed, it is only natural for every people to think themselves the best and think their ways to be true and moral. An interesting example of this comes in the form of the fourteenth century romance, *The King of Tars*, in which a Christian princess gives birth to a child fathered by a Saracen sultan, but the child is malformed and ugly. The Saracen sultan prays to his gods to no avail. It is only when the Christian princess prays to the Christian God that the child is transformed into a beauty. Upon seeing this, the sultan converts to Christianity – transforming himself from his black ugliness to Christian whiteness[21]. The image of the Other here is found in the Saracen sultan and his innate ugliness, clearly denoted by his blackish skin and his disbelief; all of which disappear upon entering the virtuous realm of Christianity. This presents a complete and total rejection of the physical Otherness found in the East (Cordery 94). This idea of a devilish, black Other is also found in paintings and other art forms. Figure One[22] represents one of the battles between Charlemagne, considered a prototype for crusaders and Muslims in Spain at the time. In this figure and others, the Muslims are stereotypically represented as dark, barbaric demons, complete with horns and snaring teeth (Strickland 170). In addition, these demons are large and grotesque, facing the pure whiteness of the solemn-faced Charlemagne and his brave knights. To complete this image of chivalry, Charlemagne and his knights are riding atop white horse(s), while the demons face them on foot. This presents the epitome of "the Christian…is superior, the Saracen world as 'other' is beneath contempt" (Cordery 96).

The Other, then, represents a manifestation of Otherness for the self, that is the

[21] Refer to Chapter Three, section 3.2.5 "Other Minor Works."
[22] Refer to Appendix B: "Figures and Maps." Cf. Figure 3.

people the crusading literature was written for. This Otherness is transmitted via language, and just as language is limited by the understanding of signifier, signifieds and referents, the historical narrative itself is merely a conception of reality as perceived by the chronicler; and while this doesn't reduce from the historical value of the texts, it does enrich it by placing the historical narrative squarely within the frame of the literary narrative. That is, the historical narrative becomes a matter of interpretation and from it we can interpolate the construction of identity of the Other in terms of the two major polemics that divide its construction in crusading literature: religion and ethnicity, which shall be covered in chapter two and three respectively.

CHAPTER THREE

CONSTRUCTING A RELIGIOUS OTHER

"It seems that whatever we perceive is organized into patterns of for which we, the perceivers, are largely responsible"[23]

The crusades brought what can be considered the first true impact of Arabian culture and religion to Latin Europe (Metlitzki 3). When confronted by the differences between Arab Muslim and Latin Christian cultures, a polemic for identity and otherness began. This polemic took voice in the many works produced in that era about the Saracen idolaters and the invading *franj* with each polluting the space of the other. In terms of scope and detail, Hans Prutz provides an unmatched account of the cultural influence of the crusades on Europe in his *Die Kulturgeschichte der Kreuzzuege* (1883). Prutz's clear favor of the crusaders and his comparison of them as continuing the taming of uncivilized lands like Alexander the Great does not diminish its comprehensive scope of numerous crusade sources (Metlitzki 4). For the Muslims, the crusaders were a foreign enemy and the Muslim construction of this enemy is one based not on their understanding of the Christian faith, but on their claim of the inherent impurity of these invaders. As for the crusaders, the Saracens were, for the most part, worshippers of Muḥammad along with a combination of other gods at times. The Saracens represented a continuation of a long established tradition of Christianity's epic battle with paganism since the days of the Romans. This chapter aims at understanding how each side viewed the Other in terms of the dichotomy of religious differences.

3.1 Early Christian Reactions to Islam

In *Medieval Christian Perceptions of Islam*, John Tolan writes that the early generations of Christians facing the onslaught on Muslims saw them as a "formidable political and military force," but they were largely uninterested in their religious beliefs

[23] Mary Douglas, p. 156.

(xii). Only when Islam begins to engulf sizeable sections of the Christian empire and a large number of Christians convert to Islam, it begins to be conceived of as a true threat.

When considering the period of the crusades and the literature produced in that era, or even about that era, careful consideration must be taken of the perception of the Self and the Other. In fact, in the perception lies the key to understanding the construction of the image of the Self and the Other since the image created during the crusades is one that, more or less, persists to this day (Ballard 1995). Truly, while crusaders were on a mission of Christ, their endeavor helped to inadvertently create a distinct and unique identity of what is European and what is not. This conception of being God's soldiers is also found in Muslim thought. For many medieval Muslims, the rapid and unprecedented rise of Islam and its ultimate success and prosperity against Christians was proof of God's favor (Tolan, *Saracens* 21). The crusaders were not interested in 'getting to know' this Muslim Other, but rather viewed this Other from a tiny prism of their own perception and were far from being detached, objective observers and reports of the facts (Tolan, *Saracens* 4). According to Bernard Lewis, to some extent, the same can be said of Muslims, as evidenced by their inability to develop "the least interest in them [the Franks]" ('Muslim Historians' 181).

Indeed, the lack of acceptance of Muslim ideology was seen even among Eastern Christian theologians such as Theodore Abū Qurrah[24], who knew about the life of Muḥammad and the teachings of the Qur'an and lived a couple of hundred years before the crusades. He wrote in Arabic defending Christianity and the tradition of veneration of images against Muslim claims of idolatry (Tolan, *Saracens* 58). In one of his works, he presented the traditional Christian doctrine using Muslim theological

[24] Died c. 823 AD. He was a Greek Christian theologian who was among the few Christian theologians to use Arabic in their treatises. In many of his works, he argues in favor of the Christian doctrine against Islamic and Judaic challenges. Some of his works have been edited and presented in: Abū, Qurrah Thāwdhūrus, and John C. Lamoreaux. *Theodore Abū Qurrah*. Provo, UT: Brigham Young UP, 2005. Print.

language to point out the flaws in Islamic doctrine, which was later refuted by Al-Murdār (Ibid., Quinn 28). This attempt is in contrast to his teacher, John of Damascus, who presented Islam as clear heresy[25]. Considering that these theologians were well versed in the Islamic world and were a part of it, they were – to some extent – willing and capable of understanding Islamic doctrine and presenting philosophical treatises defending the Christian doctrine and refuting the Islamic one. However, when compared to the Spanish monks in Andalus who wrote about Islam with surprising prejudice considering that Islamic culture was present in Andalus for seven hundred years. Where Abū Qurrah used Arabic to explain Christian doctrine and create an objective, if not secular, argument against Islam, the Spanish monks were resistant to this objectivity and were unwilling to learn about the religion or its teachings (Quinn 30). Truly, the need for this separation carried beyond the Middle Ages into post medieval Europe where, as María Rosa Menocal argues, a cultural and religious cleansing was carried out to rinse Europe of its Islamic heritage, sublimating the role of Arab-Islamic culture to mere translators of ancient Greek works which lead to the point of referring to the Islamic presence in Spain as 'occupation' – a surprising term considering the amount of time Arabs and Muslims spent in Spain, for if after seven hundred years they were not residents, then how long does it take to become residents? (Ibid., Menocal, *The Arabic Role* 10, n.23)[26].

3.2 Muslim Perceptions of Christianity

For the medieval Muslim, the Christian was a follower of an incomplete religion, which was completed by the revelations of Muḥammad, the last prophet. For the Muslim, Christianity did not warrant much thought as it was inherently wrong. The

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[25] Died c. 749 AD. He was a Syrian monk, priest and polymath. He wrote numerous works expounding the Christian faith and denouncing Islam as heresy. For more information, refer to:
Sahas, D. *John of Damascus on Islam: The "Heresy of the Ishmaelites."* Brill, 1972.

[26] For more details refer to Menocal's *The Ornament of the World: How Muslims, Jews and Christians created a Culture of Tolerance in Medieval Spain* (2002) and *The Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History: A Forgotten Heritage* (1987).

early Muslims knew some of the doctrines of Christianity due to the existence of oriental Christians and the frequent interaction with Islam's great arch nemesis, Constantinople[27]. Furthermore, some Muslims were great travellers and they brought back with them accounts of their travels[28], which helped the Muslim world formulate an understanding and opinion of the Franks, as well as many folk tales and oral narratives. Another large influence on the opinions of Muslims on Latin Christians came as a direct result of the translation of numerous classical Greek texts into Arabic (Hillenbrand 270). Largely, the stereotypical image of the Franks was one of a people who lacked hygiene, a people with a relaxed sexual attitude and ferocity in times of war (Hillenbrand 274). A testament to the lenient sexual attitudes comes from Usāma Ibn Munqidh, a contemporary of Ṣalaḥ ad-Dīn, who tells a famous anecdote of a crusader knight using the public *ḥammām* from the point of view of the attendant of the public bathhouse, Salīm.

> I once opened a bathhouse in Ma'arra to earn my living. Once, one of their knights came in. Now, they don't take to people wearing a towel about their waist in the bath, so this knight stretched out his hand, pulled off my towel from my waist and threw it down. He looked at me – I had recently shaved my pubic hair – and said, 'Salim!' Then he moved closer to me. He then stretched his hand over my groin, saying, 'Salim! Good! By the truth of my religion, do that to me too!' He then lay down on his back: he had it thick as a beard in that place! So I shaved him and passed his hand over it and, finding it smooth to touch, said, 'Salim, by the truth of your religion, do it to Madam!' – *Madame* in their language means 'the lady', meaning his wife…she lay down on her back and the knight said, 'Do her like you did me!' So I shaved her hair as her husband stood watching me. He then thanked me and paid me my due for the service (Ibn Munqidh 149).

This anecdote serves to provide exemplification of the inappropriate attitudes of crusader knights to both hygiene and women. Disregarding the high improbability of the occurrence of such an event since public bathhouses had specific days designated for

[27] It should be noted that Muslims distinguished between different types of Christians in terms of race: the *rūm* were the Christians of Constantinople, while the *franj* were the Franks, or Latin Christians (Fakhry 61).

[28] One such traveller was Ibn Jubayr (d. 1217) whose travel memoirs tell of pilgrimage to Mecca as well as Ṣalaḥ ad-Dīn's domains.

men and others for women, this anecdote embodies the essential differences that Muslims saw between their own society and that of the Frankish Other (Hillenbrand 279). As such, to highlight the differences between the two, Ibn Munqidh *makes* a story to fit into events that may have happened slightly differently for the purpose of entertaining his readers and informing them of the morals of the Franks. Ibn Munqidh thereby informs his readers of the differences they had from the Franks highlighting the borders of distinction. Further contribution to the image of the *franj* came from the division of the world into zones with specific racial attributes[29].

3.3 The Muslim Other as Pagan and Idolater

The misrepresentation of Muslims carried on to create an image of Muslims similar to the other 'Others' known to the Latin Christian: Jews and pagans. The views of the Latin Christians on the Muslims were based on Byzantine and Spanish sources, and as such, they were mostly hostile and subversive (Cole 84). Suzanne Akbari writes that the established Jewish identity served, in its religious aspect at least, as a template of sorts to understand the "law of Muḥammad" and the Saracens, molded by the climate in which they thrived[30] (3). Many Christian writers drew parallels between Islam and paganism, projecting their own perception of The Holy Trinity on Muslim doctrine. They interpreted the Muslim doctrine from behind their own canonical dogma and created a Muslim trinity as seen in *The Song of Roland*, which depicts the Muslims as idolaters and worshippers of a multiplicity of gods. Some Western Christian writers noted the inaccuracy of the image of Muslims as idolaters, such as Guibert of Nogent[31]

[29] Refer to Chapter Four, section 4.1.1 "The Latin Christian Understanding of the World and Its People," and section 3.3 "The Muslim Understanding of the World and Its People."
[30] This idea is discussed in Chapter Four, section 4.1 "The Latin Christian View of Saracens."
[31] Although Guibert of Nogent doesn't present Moḥammad as the deity of Muslims, he does attach the attribute pagan to their religion. Refer to Chapter Three, section 3.3.1 "Guibert's *The Deeds of God Through the Franks*."

and William of Malmesbury[32] who wrote that Muslims believe in one god and are led Muḥammad. Yet, this was not the popular idea and many of the learned men of the day presented accounts of a Muslim sultan or soldier blaspheming his god Muḥammad[33] (Kedar, *Crusade and Mission* 87). In *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages*, noted medieval historian R. W. Southern argues that it was not until the 15th century that a true understanding of Muslims was beginning to sprout in medieval Europe.

According to John Tolan in *Saracens*, the first depiction of the Muslims as idolaters is found about a century before the First Crusade and was penned by a nun, Hrotsvitha[34]. She depicted a Cordovan martyr pursued by Muslim persecutors who were clothed in classical Roman garb, thereby associating Muslims with Romans. This allowed for a parallel to be drawn between the early Christian martyrs of Roman times and the martyrs falling to the Muslim pagan. Indeed, it seems that in the time of Hrotsvitha, virtuous Christians who wished entry into heaven via martyrdom chose the path of insulting the pagans' "marble idols" (106). Furthermore, in the first hand accounts of the First Crusade, Ralph of Caen[35] presents the enemies of the crusaders as worshippers of Muḥammad, further continuing the misrepresentation of Muslim doctrine (109).

3.3.1 Guibert's *The Deeds of God Through the Franks*

The misrepresentation of the Muslim doctrine by Latin Christians, as noted above was one that was carried out almost to epidemic proportions as "scores of medieval texts, in Latin, French, and other languages, paint the Saracen religion in the

[32] While he notes Muslim monotheism, his writing of them is highly polemical as he regards their presence in the East as evil. For more details, refer to *Gesta Regum Anglorum* (The Deeds of the English Kings) and his *Commentary On Lamentations*.
[33] A more detailed consideration of this is found in Kedar's book, *Crusade and Mission*, as well as John Tolan's *Saracens*.
[34] Died c. 1002 AD. She lived and worked at the Gandersheim Abbey. She wrote her depiction of the martyrdom of Pelagius of Cordova based on an eyewitness account (Fife, 9).
[35] Died c. 1120 AD. He is the Norman writer of *Gesta Tancredi in expedition Hierosolymitana* (The Deeds of Tancred in the Crusades), an eyewitness account of the First Crusade. For more details, refer to Bernard Bachrach and David Bachrach in bibliography.

familiar hues of classical Roman idolatry" (Tolan, *Saracens* 109). However, one of the few chroniclers of the Middle Ages who did not confuse the Muslim doctrine as one that worships Muḥammad was Guibert of Nogent[36]. In his *The Deeds of God Through the Franks*[37], he theologically enhanced and amplified[38] the chronicle from the original *Gesta Francorum*[39]. In *The Deeds*, Guibert presents God as the central theme. In fact, Robert Levine, translator of Guibert's *The Deeds* notes that Guibert gives God the "credit and responsibility for the work done…not the [Franks] where they properly belong" (4). *The Deeds* was written circa 1106 and 1109 AD and is divided into seven books. Often, Guibert digresses into unrelated matters to present his opinion on various topics or to provide historical background. In Guibert's own preface, he asserts the idea that the work itself was inspired to him not due to immense historical events, but rather by the power of god who willed those men, i.e. the crusaders, into action. Throughout the work, Guibert continuously expounds on the remarkable nature of the crusades themselves and the Franks. He criticizes divisions who believe in relics other than the ones he finds authentic, rhetoric style that differs from his own, aristocrats from different factions than his own, as well as heretics, Jews, and Arabs (Levine, *Satirical Vulgarity* 263). Indeed, it seems that if one were not a Frank of the same class and rhetorical taste as Guibert, then one is lacking and inferior. This insistence on the superiority of the Franks to all other crusaders and the benevolence of God presents the key to understanding his depiction of the characters from both sides, as well as his portrayal of Muḥammad – not that of a Muslim deity, but as a heretical being

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[36] Died 1124 AD. He was a Benedictine historian and theologian who was virtually unknown by his contemporaries. In 1104, he was elected abbot of Nogent-sous-Coucy. In circa 1108, he finished writing a history of the First Crusade entitled "*Dei gesta per Francos*" (*The Deeds of God Through The Franks*).
[37] Referred to henceforth as *The Deeds*.
[38] For more on "theological refinement" as J. Riley-Smith dubs it, see his book *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*, University of Pennsylvania, 1986. Pages 135-154.
[39] Translated as *The Deeds of the Franks* from its full name *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, i.e. *The deeds of the Franks and the other pilgrims to Jerusalem*. It is a Latin eyewitness account of the First Crusade (c.1100-1101 AD) possibly written by an anonymous soldier or priest.

compounded with excrement and disease[40]. Indeed, "the techniques of debasement" present themselves "when Guibert finds ample room for exercising his condemnatory impulses in reworking accounts of the First Crusade" (Levine, *Satiric Vulgarity* 263). Throughout the work, Guibert frequently strays from the issue at hand and chooses instead to present a biography of Pope Urban II, a history of the major cities in the Holy Land, a sermon or lecture. Yet these diversions are seldom short and straight to the point; instead, they are elongated and elaborated which frequently forces Guibert to apologize for his diversion with phrases such as, "let us return to the subject," "let us continue in the direction in which we set out" (37, 95).

In the first book, Guibert presents a selective history of the Eastern Church as well as a direct attack on heretics and heresy in general. Towards the end of Book One, he presents the character of Muḥammad as the reason the people of the Christian East turned away from the true faith and returned to paganism, writing,

> He taught them to acknowledge only the person of the Father as the single, creating God, and he said that Jesus was entirely human (28).

In these lines, Guibert presents the Muḥammadian doctrine as it is for Muslims in its simplest form, in direct opposition to the central doctrine of Christianity, the divinity of Christ. After recounting a fictionalized and very denunciating story of the death of Muḥammad[41], Guibert once more reiterates the idea that Muḥammad is not a divine being,

> My point is that they did not think that he was God, but a just man and leader, through whom divine laws might be transmitted (32).

[40] Guibert of Nogent is not the first, nor indeed the last, to present an invective of Muḥammad. For a more extensive overview, especially of Muḥammad's death, refer to Robert Levine "Satirical Vulgarity in Guibert de Nogent's Gesta Dei per Francos," *Rhetorica*, 1989.

[41] For Guibert, Muḥammad was claimed by an epileptic seizure, fell to the ground and was devoured by pigs (*The Deeds*, Book I).

However, these lines are always followed by declarations of the pagan and heretic nature of Islam, with claims that Muḥammad taught his followers “every kind of shameful behavior” and “loosened the reins of every vice” (28, 30). In these lines, we see that while he is aware of the non-deistic position of Muḥammad, he is as unwilling either to learn or to understand this Other religion, preferring instead to return to his status-quo of attacking all that is alien. Indeed, Guibert’s own subjectivity and blindness present a shocking element when taking into consideration that the entire purpose of writing *The Deeds* was to present a more accurate and clearer presentation of the facts and the historical background the *Gesta Francorum*, which he believes presents an erroneous version of the events of the First Crusade (Levine, *Satiric Vulgarity* 263). In this revision, he presents an image of Otherness, which is stereotypical, much like the Spanish monks of Andalus (Quinn 30).

After this, Guibert begins his attack on the Muslim population. He presents their Otherness in terms of their sexual depravity and insatiable lust. Guibert’s hyper sexualized Muslims take turns raping women in mother-daughter intervals, and even more unnaturally and inexcusably – according to Guibert – at least, is the rape and sodomy of men, specially a Bishop which resulted in said Bishop’s death. For Guibert, this Other is carrying out the most offensive sin of all by going against the laws of nature itself as they were “breaking all human laws…with couplings unheard of among beasts, actions to which Christians may not give name” (33). Therefore, the Other becomes an element without reason – only sinful sexual desire that is in direct contrast to laudable Christian sexual conduct. In fact, this idea of the ‘insatiable *sheykh*’ is one that persists to this day in popular Romance novels and movies with the topos of the Western woman being kidnapped to serve in the sheikh’s harem or for the *sheykh’s* private pleasure, such as *The Sheikh* (1919) by E. M. Hull, later immortalized in film, and *The Desert Sheikh's Captive Wife* (2007) by Lynne Graham. In these works, the

popularized version of the virile, hyper sexualized Arab Muslim presents itself. Amira Jarmakani writes that while sheikh-themed romances represent only a slim fraction of the popular romance genre, they do however "reflect mainstream popular discourse about the Arab and Muslim worlds" (994)[42].

In Book Two, when describing the events of a siege in Nicomedia[43], Guibert's description of the Muslim sources is surprisingly unsullied. Instead of his customary invective against Others, he simply presents the "Turks" in opposition to the Christians. In this, he presents a religious-racial dichotomy of the divide between the two groups. Yet, just a few lines later he draws attention to the horrific actions of these Turks against their Christian prisoners; from horrible torture and slavery to public displays as their bodies are rained on with arrows and beheaded. Naturally, Guibert did not note the gruesome tortures inflicted on the conquered Muslims and oriental Christians, including having wounded soldiers march across hot plains, carrying the heads of their fallen companions on spikes (BBC *Crusades* Part 2). Even more offensively to Guibert's Christian sensibilities is the idea that

> The conscientious worker is flogged; the faithful man, who performs eagerly and competently, is punished (45)

This seems to be one of the worst offenses of all and it serves to further extenuate the differences in the conceptions of Christian forgiveness and Turkish/Muslim cruelty. Indeed, what these crusaders suffered under Turkish imprisonment seems to have been "more excruciating than three days of torture on the rack[44]" (45). Indeed, Guibert claims

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[42] For a more detailed overview of Sheik-themed romances, please refer to:
August, Melissa. "Sheikhs and the Serious Blogger." *Time*. 22 Aug. 2005. Web. http://www.time.com/time/nation/article/0,8599,1096809,00.html and
Jarmakani, Amira. "'The Sheik Who Loved Me": Romancing the War on Terror.' *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 35.4 (2010): 993-1017. Print.
In addition, fan made websites such as http://www.sheikhs-and-desert-love.com/ and http://romancing-the-desert-sheikh-books.blogspot.com.

[43] Izmit on the Marmara sea in modern Turkey.

[44] A torture device made from a rectangular, wooden frame, slightly raised from the ground. The victim's ankles are fastened to rollers on one end and the hands are chained to an opposite one. The rollers are

that these brave men were bringing forth a new reign of Christian martyrs in service of Christ. In much of the work, Guibert seems insistent on claiming that what the crusaders suffered through in their quest to please God was more difficult and arduous than what the Jews suffered crossing the desert, an idea that culminates in the last book of the chronicle.

As mentioned previously, Guibert has a tendency to exalt aristocrats and scorn the lower classes. In one of his exaltations of the upper classes, he presents a near saintly version of Bohemond, which when compared to the Bohemond in Anna Komnene's *The Alexiad* presents a stark difference. In *The Deeds*, Bohemond is presented as a great Christian who shows mercy when he uncovers mercenaries sent by the Emperor Alexios to attack his army. Instead of dispatching with them, Guibert writes that he let them go without punishment or ransom. Furthermore, Guibert claims that Bohemond and his men were mindful of the oriental Christian population present in the Holy Land. According to Guibert, Bohemond requested that his men should not kill nor harm the oriental Christians in any way for the crusaders had come to protect them,

> Bohemond order[ed] everyone alike who was about to pass through territory inhabited by Christians to behave peacefully, to do no harm, and not to depopulate the land of those whose rights they had come to protect; they should take, as peacefully as possible, and after having paid for it, only the food that they needed (52).

This image of the virtuous leader is in stark contrast to the one presented in *The Alexiad* as a petty man who constantly demands acclaim for his conquests, "demanding…acclamations," and cherished "a desire for the Roman Empire, and wished to win it" for himself (101, 252).

According to Anna Komnene, Bohemond maintained an "old grudge against the emperor," due to the latter's victory in battle over Bohemond. According to Comnena,

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slowly pulled on, stretching the joints and causing excruciating pain until the joints are dislocated and eventually separated.

Bohemond's motivation for the crusades was never to reclaim Jerusalem and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre but to claim the emperor's throne and capture the capital of Eastern Christianity writing "in reality their object was to dethrone the Emperor and to capture the capital" (258). In fact, there was no love lost between the Emperor and the leaders of the Frankish crusaders especially Bohemond whom the emperor did not trust for Bohemond was aiming to gain a kingdom of his own from the Crusade (BBC *Crusades* Part 2). Indeed, this image of the relationship between the Emperor and Bohemond seems very different than the one claimed by Guibert in which the Emperor issued "an imperial edict command[ing] all the inhabitants…to see to it that Bohemond and his men had a supply of everything that could be bought" (*The Deeds* 53). In Guibert's *The Deeds*, the Emperor himself is portrayed as a tyrant, constantly conniving against the Franks to destroy their army, which he assumed came to attack Constantinople; yet god in his infinite wisdom and force "watched over them [the Franks] so well that no occasion presented itself for the scoundrel to harm them" (Ibid. 54). Komnene presents the emperor's clever strategy for maintaining the loyalty of the crusaders by having them swear "the customary oath of the Latins" in which the crusaders swore that whatever towns or lands reclaimed from the Muslims are the property of the Roman Empire and the Emperor (*Book X*). The dichotomy of Otherness also presents itself as Guibert continuously identifies himself with the side of the Franks, specifically Bohemond, and alienates not only the Muslim Other but also the Christian Other[45]. For Guibert, Otherness is rooted not only in religion but also in location as he distinguishes between the sufferings of Christians under Muslim in the East as opposed to their suffering in Spain, "a country near us" (31).

[45] This element is also seen in the crusaders killing of Oriental Christian when they took various cities such as Antioch as noted in the four part BBC documentary, *Crusades*. Furthermore, even after Jerusalem is won over, the schism in the identity of the Latin Christians and the oriental Christians remained tense as seen in the writing of Jacques de Vitry (c. 1170 – 1240).

3.3.2 *The Song of Roland*

The idea of the pagan Muslim endured the passage of time and can be found in *The Song of Roland*, a work originally about the Battle of Roncevaux Pass[46] between two Christian enemies. Later on, the work was romanticized into presenting the dichotomy between Christians and Muslims. The divide between good Christian and evil Muslim "pagan" is ever present in *The Song of Roland* with the narrator constantly describing and contrasting the good Christians with the evil Muslims. This contrast is mostly based on the difference in religion[47] and the inability, or unwillingness; of the narrator to understand this Other – choosing instead to simplify it in understandable terms to the Latin Christian reader or listener. In the wake of battle, the "pagans" shout at the Christians,

> Let him who wants protection from our gods,
> Pray to *them* and serve *them* with great humility[48]

This multiplicity of gods, along with a trinity of devotion the narrator presents to the "pagans" indicates a simplification of this Other in addition to projecting the understanding of Christians of the concept of God and the trinity to this Other. This also becomes evident in the narrator's presentation of the army standards carried by the "pagans," that of "Tervagant and Muḥammad" as well as that of the "treacherous Apollo" (line 3267). By presenting a trinity of symbols, the narrator was probably trying to equate with the trinity of Christianity: Father, Son and Holy Ghost. It is on the one hand trying to explain this Other to the everyman audience of the time, while maintaining a stark difference in the association of Muslims with Roman pagans and Roman gods. This justifies the killing of the Muslims and identifying them within the framework of Christianity's age-long battle with paganism for "the pagans are wrong and the Christians are right" in the simplest of terms (1015). Furthermore, noting that an

[46] Refer to Appendix C: "Figures and Maps," Figure 4 for a depiction of the battle.
[47] For instances based on ethnicity, see Chapter Four.
[48] The emphasis is my own, *The Song of Roland*, 3271.

army standard holds the value, dignity and honor of an entire army, the immediate contrast between the standard of the "pagans" and that of Charlemagne, namely the cross, is subconsciously created. Furthermore, the duality of good versus evil furthers the schism between the two parties by contrasting the honorable death of the Christian knights with that of the Muslims. When the Muslim soldier dies, "his soul is carried off by Satan," while God sends his angles Cherubim, Gabriel and Saint Michael de Peril to meet the soul of the Christian and "bear [it]…to paradise" (1268, 2393 respectively). Truly, *The Song of Roland* constantly contrasts the virtues of Christian knights to the cowardice of Muslim soldiers to the point that even the grudging respect given to a Muslim leader is immediately qualified stating, "O God, what a noble baron, if only he had been Christian" (3164). It becomes clear then, since the Christian knights are fighting a war for god, then it follows that their enemy is against god with Islam and its adherents falling under the traditional Christian enemy, paganism (Tolan, *Saracens* 109).

Indeed, the Muslim pagan was an image that survived from the writings of most crusade chroniclers who wrote of Muḥammad worshippers, Guibert of Nogent who wrote of pagan Muslim who did not proclaim a divine Muḥammad nor a multiplicity of gods, and *The Song of Roland*, which was romanticized to sustain the image of the enemy as Saracen polytheists. It is this image that endures for as late as the early 1200s, such as *Le Jeu de Saint Nicolas* written by Jean Bodel[49], first performed in 1201[50], just after the Third Crusade portrays Muslims as a polytheistic people, constantly being let down by the wide array of their gods (Trotter 242). In fact, the ideology of the Muslim as pagan continued to manifest even after the end of the crusades with the papal bull *Dum Diversas* issued by Pope Nicholas V in June 1452 which sanctioned the enslavement of Saracens and pagans (Pijper 692, Davenport 12). Indeed, to some extent

[49] Died c. 1210 AD; he was a French poet who wrote numerous *chansons de geste*.
[50] Miracle play that depicts the conversion of Saracens to Christianity as a result of a miracle performed by Saint Nicolas after the sole survivor of a Christian army prays at his statue. The play is noted for its religious fervor and sarcastic wit (*Le Jeu de Saint Nicolas*, Britannica Online).

the Muslim idols provide a uniquely imaginative focal point for both the Christian knights and the Christian chroniclers of the actions of these knights (Tolan, *Saracens* 105).

3.4 The Frankish Other as Primitive Polluter

For a long time on the Muslim side, the crusaders were viewed as enemies invading the Muslim lands and the initial reaction of the Muslim world was one of "outrage and horror" (Hillenbrand 257). While it is somewhat true that the contemporary Muslims of the time, unlike the Latin Christians, did not view the crusades as a phenomenon in and of itself[51], the crusades had an overwhelming impact on the Muslims of all classes (Hillenbrand 258). For the Muslims, the Frankish wars[52] resulted in the shock and anger of most Muslims who witnessed their fellow Muslims seeking refuge after the Franks captured their city (Ibid.). Once the Muslims became aware of the idea that the Franks wanted to remain in the East, the general populace demanded *Jihād* be waged against the invaders, with *sheykhs* making Friday speeches to urge the Muslim leaders into action (Ibid.). Perhaps the most important work was composed by Hamdan b. ʻAbd al-Raḥmān, and although there are extracts from the work used in later Muslim sources, it is now lost. The work contains his account of the Franks written from within a Frankish state in Arabic (Hillenbrand 258). Due to the nature of Muslim sources, the image of the Frankish invaders must be constructed from numerous sources including chronicles, personal memoirs and universal histories (Sivan 195).

An important element to note is the traditional Muslim invocations against the Franks including phrases such as "God curse them"[53] or "God forsake them"[54]. These invocations, Christie claims, were used exclusively against the Frankish invaders rather

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[51] For more details, refer to Lewis, Bernard, and Holt, P. M. "The Use by Muslim Historians of Non-Muslim Sources." *Historians of the Middle East*. London: Oxford Univ., 1962. Print. Pg. 181.
[52] حروب الافرنج
[53] لعنهم الله.
[54] خذلهم الله.

than the general enemies of Islam until the time of the Mongol invasion (254). Christie notes that it was Ibn al-Qalansī who effectively used this invocation against the Franks in a systematic manner as those who mention the Franks before him are hostile towards them, yet they are not systemized as they are in the time of Ibn al-Qalansī (257). Indeed, that is not to say that cursing in general was not present when referring to the enemies of Islam, only that the use of such invocations was limited to the expression of hostility to various enemies, but "a widespread tradition of using such invocations of a particular group does not seem to emerge until the Crusades" (258). It is arguable that these invocations were limited to the Franks as a group rather than other Muslims enemies because the Franks had invaded Muslim lands, settled there and then continued to battle on to expand their dominion. This idea finds credence in the fact that Muslims sources also used the same invocations when referring to the other great invaders of Muslim lands, the Mongols (263). As such, these invocations will be disregarded when noting the polemics of Otherness in Muslim sources.

When considering the contemporary Arabic historiographies on the period of the crusades, two major themes present themselves in many of the works: the theme of Muslim strife and division and the theme of the contempt for the Frankish invaders for various reasons (Fakhry 63). The first theme sets up the environment for the Frankish invasions due to the fact that the Muslim world was divided in loyalty between numerous Islamic powers[55]. As such, at the time of the crusades, Muslim lands were, in a sense, ripe for picking and one of the major reasons why the First Crusade succeeded was because it occurred at just the right time when Muslims were too busy fighting themselves to be concerned about outside threats (Hillenbrand 47). As for the second theme, contempt for the Franks, it can be traced to the scientific superiority of the

[55] This issue is not the concern of this thesis, and as such, will not be noted in detail. This theme is present in many Muslim sources of the crusades such as Ibn al-Athīr and Ibn Jubayr.

Muslim world at the time of the crusades. For the Muslims, the Franks followed "primitive ways…[had] gross social and conjugal habits, to which may be added their crude medical practices," in addition to their bad faith and general falsehood (Fakhry 63). As such, the dichotomy for Otherness is placed not only on religious reasons, but also on the belief of scientific and cultural superiority.

The belief of Muslim scientific and cultural superiority finds its roots in the Golden Age of Islam. This Golden Age is typically presented as a period of prosperity and development of culture, science, philosophy and medicine between the 8th century and the Mongol invasion of 1258 AD. At this time, the Muslim East was marked by a highly cosmopolitan cultural and economic lifestyle, while the Christian West was a void in which "all commercial and intellectual activity had ceased after the decline and fall of Rome" (Lombard 1). At its highest, the Arab world became the center of knowledge and many classical works were translated into Arabic. Indeed, these works might have been lost had they not been translated to Arabic. Indeed, during the Golden Age, 'Abbasid Muslims built upon the foundations of the 'Umayyad's to advance almost all of the known areas of science and branch out into new ones[56]. As such, the Muslim belief of superiority over the Frankish Others is not surprising. Based on the belief of a superior religion, culture and knowledge, the image of the Franks was built.

3.4.1 Ibn al-Athīr's *al-Kamīl fī al-Tārīkh*

In order to understand the Muslim perspective, a multitude of genres must be used since no single genre, especially the Universal Histories, provides a full description

[56] It is true that the Muslim world is widely credited with the translations of numerous scientific and philosophical works from Greek, Persian and Sanskrit into Arabic and eventually Latin. However, it is less acknowledged that the translators of these works also engaged with the original works, adding their own knowledge and criticism. As such, the Europeans of the middle ages received Greek science as well as numerous improvements and additions from scholars across the Muslim world.

(Ibid.). Ibn al-Athīr,[57] begins his universal history *Al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh* on the period of the crusades with an entry on the siege of Antioch. He begins the section related to the crusades with laying about the motivation for this attack by presenting the possible motivation for the war, highlighted in the 'characters' of Baldwin and Roger. Ibn al-Athīr writes that the motivation was for land itself, and Baldwin was aiming at conquering Africa to become Roger's neighbor, much to Roger's discomfort despite the idea that if those lands are conquered, they would become Christian lands. When his men draw his attention to this, Ibn al-Athīr writes, "Roger raised his leg and gave a loud fart. 'By the truth of my religion…there is more use in that than in what you have to say' [he said]" (Richards 13)[58]. Roger's hesitation to Baldwin's endeavor was due to his concern about the expense such a trip would cost, both in terms of finances and politics, as he had allies in Africa and was saving its bounty for himself when he became capable. Upon the arrival of Baldwin's messenger, he points him in the direction of Holy Land, claiming that by regaining this land, glory would be theirs. Richards translates, "He [Roger] summoned Baldwin's envoy and said to him, 'If you are determined to wage holy war on the Muslims, then the best way is to conquer Jerusalem. You will free it from their hands and have glory" (13)[59].

This primary episode introduces these characters and presents them in a truly less than flattering light. It also presents the template against which Ibn al-Athīr wishes to present the invaders: Baldwin as a land hungry soldier and Roger as a man more concerned about his own lands and wealth than his faith, as seen in his reply to his men. When considering the character of Roger, especially, and the emplottment Ibn al-Athīr gave him, associating the man with such a rude noise serves hardly any historical

[57] Ibn al-Athīr was born circa May 12, 1160 as ʿIzz al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn al-Athīr in what is modern-day Turkey. He spent much of his life in scholarly pursuit in Mosul, but he did spend time in Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn's army, and later went to live in Aleppo, Syria. He died in c. 1233 and is buried in Mosul. He is famous for his voluminous work entitled *Al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh* or Universal History.
[58] Refer to Appendix A: "Full Text of Select Sources" for full episode.
[59] Refer to Appendix A: "Full Text of Select Sources" for full episode.

purpose, other than painting the character as an unlikeable and impure Other. Considering the multitude of Islamic canonical Quranic verses and hadiths on the importance of cleanliness and purification – something Ibn al-Athīr's readers would have been extremely familiar with – then the framing of Roger becomes an indirect means of attributing unwanted and undesired characteristics to an Other. Interestingly, when Ibn al-Athīr describes the reconquering of Spain from the Muslims, a level of grudging respect is seen towards the Franj and disrespect for the Muslims who have scattered into *mūlūk al-tawā'if* rather than remain united. His description and presentation of these Franj, other than the usual "God curse them," does not bear resemblance to his description of Baldwin and Roger. Most Muslim chroniclers, as noted previously[60], neither presented nor cared about the reasons behind the crusades. Ibn al-Athīr, however, slightly differs in this respect. For him, the invasion is a quest for land that accidentally turned to Jerusalem and the Holy Lands. It is not one motivated by a higher calling from the highest religious organization in Europe. For the Muslims, the crusaders were, simply, "strange and unexpected enemy" (Hitti 589).

The idea of Christian impurity can also be traced in the exaggeration of the numbers of īmāms, 'ulema and other religious leaders as seen in the telling of Ibn al-Athīr,

> In the Aqsa Mosque the Franks killed more than 70,000, a large number of them being imams, ulema, righteous men and ascetics, Muslims who had left their native lands and come to live a holy life in this august spot (Richards, 1: 21)[61]

Here, Ibn al-Athīr furthers the point of the disease the Franks pose to the Muslims in terms of their decimation of not only religious places, but also men of faith. This idea, the murder and slight to religious figures is also found in the work of Guibert of Nogent,

[60] Refer to Chapter Two, section 2.2 "Arab Chroniclers Understanding of the Motivations for Crusades."
[61] Refer to Appendix A: "Full Text of Select Sources."

> Their [Saracens] lust overflowed to the point that the execrable and profoundly intolerable crime of sodomy, which they committed against men of middle or low station, they also committed against a certain bishop, killing him (33)

This grievous insult and murder of men of God, therefore, becomes nothing more than part of a larger polemic of Otherness. For both sides, the Other is impure and by their very nature, prone to elements of filth and abnormality, which requires of the Muslim leaders to purify the lands the reacquire from the Franks as seen in Ibn al-Athīr's rendition of Ṣalaḥ ad-Dīn's cleansing "of filth and impurities" from the Aqsa Mosque after it was retaken (Richards, *Vol 2* 334).

3.4.2 Ibn al-Tarābulusī's *Dīwān*

The crusading phenomenon resulted in a rise in the ideology of *Jihād* in Muslim thought, with resounding speeches such as the one made by the honorable *qādī* al-Harawi in the Caliph's *dīwān* in Baghdad in 1099, spurring the Muslim population into action against the crusading Franks. He says,

> How dare you slumber in the shade of complacent safety…leading lives as frivolous as garden flowers, while your brothers in Syria have no dwelling place save the saddles of camels and the bellies of vultures? Blood has been spilled! Beautiful young girls have been shamed, and must now hide their sweet faces in their hands! Shall the valorous Arabs resign themselves to insult, and the valiant Persians accept dishonor? (qtd. Maalouf xiii)

In these lines, al-Harawi is urging the Muslim population of Baghdad into action after the fall of Jerusalem to the Franks in which not a single Muslim was left alive inside the city walls to the point numerous chroniclers write that the blood of the Saracens ran to the ankles (*Crusades* Part 2; Maalouf xiv). The few Muslims who managed to escape before the crusaders massacred the city presented expert eyewitnesses to the Muslims in Baghdad and managed to give the Franks a threatening nature. Furthermore, in the speech, al-Harawi points to the "valorous Arabs" and "valiant Persians" accepting savage devastation and humiliation. In these lines, a polarity of identity is emphasized

by pointing at the traditional elements that construct both Arab and Persian identity – two of the great races of Islam. In fact, the elements of the speech are reminiscent of the one Urban II made to call for the crusades. In his speech, Urban mobilizes an army of Christians from every class and standing to fight for their dishonored brethren. Indeed, the element of *Jihād* poetry is significant when considering the period of the crusades, especially the work of famed poet, Ibn al-Tarābulusī[62] who survived his city's siege by the crusaders. In his *Dīwān*, he praises the sultan Nūr ad-Dīn Zangī for routing out the Franks and encourages other Muslims to join the fight with verses such as "the cross and its followers fell and Islam was once more proud and without bended neck"[63] (191). Indeed, his *Dīwān* is filled with verses that speak of the strength of Zangī's sword in the face of the cowering Franks, frightened by the power of his *Jihād*. For Ibn al-Tarābulusī, Zangī returned Islam to its former glory, and he presents this in poems, which exalt Zangī's actions and humiliate the defeat of the Frankish princes[64]. However, Ibn al-Tarābulusī is also aware of the other side of the Frankish presence in Muslim lands, that is *najāsa* or pollution, where he writes verses of the defilement of the Aqsa Mosque[65] and the need to cleanse the land from their filth[66]. In fact, the rise of *Jihād* presents only one side of the religious reaction to the crusades. The Other, as pointed by Ibn al-Tarābulusī, comes in the terms of the defilement of a sacred place of God, which in its

[62] Born in Tripoli in 437h [1045] when the city was at it apex. He is known for his *Jihād* poetry in praise of those who fight against the invading Franks. His *dīwān* is incomplete as much of his work is lost. He died in 548h [1153].

[63] The translation is my own. The original Arabic is
"وهوى الصليب و حزبه و تبختر الـ اسلام من بعد التساقف أغيدا" (191).

[64] The translation is my own. The original Arabic is
"ملأ الفرنجة جور سيفك فيهم فلهم على سيف المحيط جُؤآر" (191),
"عفّى جهادك رسم كل مخوفةٍ و عفت بصفوة عدلك الأكدار" (191), and
"ردَّت على الإسلام عصر شبابه و ثــباته من دونــه وثـبــــاتُه
أرسـى قواعـــــده، ومــد عـماده صـُعداً، و شيّد سورَه سوراته
و أعاد وجه الحق أبيض ناصعاً إصلاته، و صِلاته، وَ صَلاته" (208).

[65] At the time, occupied by the knights Templar and a cross stood upon its minaret (Ibn al-Athīr, 264). Refer to Appendix A: "Full Text of Select Sources" for original Arabic.

[66] The translation is my own. The original Arabic is "آثارهم نَجس أذال المسجد الـ أقصى، فصُن ما دنسوه و طهر" (229).

very nature implies a separation from God due to the inseparable nature of cleanliness and the doctrine of Islam.

3.4.3 Ibn Jubayr's *Riḥla*

Purification and purity lie at the heart of the Muslim religion, as evidenced by the need for *wuḍū'* before addressing *Allah* in prayer. It is an integral part of the Islamic doctrine and one of the greater effects of the Frankish invasion was the impurity brought on by the Franks to the Muslim Holy Places (Hillenbrand 284). From this, a greater part of the Muslim doctrine presents itself: impurity. This impurity presents itself in the elements of wine, pigs and manure – all of which form the basis of the dichotomy of Muslim-Christian difference and Otherness. as seen in the words of the anonymous poet reported by Ibn Taghrībirdī,

> What is null and void and what is forbidden is (now) made licit…how many a mosque have they made into a church…the cross has been set up in the *mihrab*. The blood of the pig is suitable for it (5: 151).

It is the Muslim space that is polluted and made impure by the presence of the Franks. Bearing that in mind, the presentation of the Franks in the Arab chroniclers of the crusades encased in phrases such as "god curse" a Frankish leader or the Franks in general,[67] or Ibn Jubayr, as he wrote his travels of the infidel lands, "unbelief and unpiousness there burn fiercely, and pigs [Christians] and crosses"[68] are everywhere, or his description of Agnes of Courtenay, mother of Baldwin IV as the "sow known as Queen who is the mother of the pig who is Lord of Acre" become part of the general polemic of Otherness by associating the Franks with devils, dogs, pigs, beasts and many other filthy and unholy creatures (Hillenbrand 296; Ibn Jubayr 239). The Franks are impure by their very essence; therefore they are inherently Others and therefore deserve the labels of Otherness. As with the image of Other as polluter in Muslim doctrine,

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[67] Ibn al-Athīr, translated by D. S. Richards pages 21, 38, 59, 73, 74, 93, 104, 273.
[68] "تستعر كفراً و طغياناً، و تفور خنازير و صلباناً، زفرة قذرة، مملوءة كلها رجساً و عذرة" (Ibn Jubayr 240-1).

some chroniclers of the crusades such as William of Malmesbury believed the Muslims to be befoul Christian lands. For him, the Muslims were as a disease in the body that needs to be rid of it to find peace. Indeed, for while the crusades were god's war for William in *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, more so than that, they were a necessary evil to rid the Christian Holy Lands from the polluting Muslims who, by their very presence in these lands, were contaminating them. As such, the polemics have been set "in the Muslim portrayal of the Franks…[where] symbols of pollution and impurity abound," as well as the Christian portrayal of the Muslims as polluters who must be routed out of the Holy Land so that it may be returned to its original state of purity (Hillenbrand 285).

3.4.4 al-'Asfahānī's *al-Fatḥ al-Qussī fī al-fatḥ al-Qudsī*

With the changing tides in the crusades due to the political and military shrewdness of Ṣalaḥ ad-Dīn, the tone of the Muslim writers began to change. In al-'Asfahānī's *al-Fatḥ al-Qussī fī al-fatḥ al-Qudsī*, he continues the polemic of the Western Christian Other, but he does not set up the foundation of Muslim division. He claims the untrustworthiness of the Franks and their leaders by providing snippet examples of this, such as when he writes of the Franks disguise in guarding a mountain pass only to set traps upon it[69]. He continues by misrepresenting the Christian doctrine, writing that they worship the cross, and taint the Holy Land with their filth (27, 78). In his claim that the Christians worship the cross, al-'Asfahānī was writing of the dedication of the Christians to the Great Cross, a dedication which cost them their victory since when it was lost, the Franks lost all morale and will to fight (Fakhry 66).

For al-'Asfahānī, the Franks had tainted the Holy Land in the years they had occupied it, 91 years at that time, until Ṣalaḥ ad-Dīn reclaimed it for the Muslim world (Ibid. 81). The Holy Lands of the Muslims were made impure by the very presence of

[69] Al-'Asfahānī 49,
"فإنه حريص على الدرك ناصبا شر الشوك و قد رتّب الفرنج من الأرصاد أفواجاً على تلك الفجاج لا سيما ابرنس الكرك،"
"نصب .الشرك"

the Franks and as such, the lands required purification from their race and symbols of their religion, which al-’Asfahānī equates with the sound of the church bells[70]. It is not only that their race is impure and polluted, more interestingly are al-’Asfahānī’s words voicing his desire for the silencing of the bells. This is a clear indication of the sharp religious divide upon which al-’Asfahānī based his polemic. With Ṣalaḥ ad-Dīn, the Holy Land was purified again, writing that Jerusalem was sanctified from the foul deeds of the Franj after Ṣalaḥ ad-Dīn reclaimed it[71]. So vehement was the belief that the Holy Land was tainted by the Frankish presence that, in his introduction, al-’Asfahānī compared the success of Ṣalaḥ ad-Dīn to a second *Hijra*[72]. For al-’Asfahānī, this second *hijra* was the greater of the two[73], since it marked the return of the Muslims to their ancient glory (Fakhry 66). He bases this comparison on the idea that the first *hijra* was done during the lifetime of Muḥammad and the Muslim people were still zealous about their faith. However, the second coming of the *hijra* takes place at a time when the Muslim faith is at jeopardy, comparing Islam to an old man with a head full of white hair[74]. He continues this idea by distinguishing between the traditional enemies of Islam at the time of Muḥammad and at the time of Ṣalaḥ ad-Dīn[75].

For contemporary Muslims, in terms of the polemic of Otherness, a major foundation was one based on the need to purify the Muslim lands from the pollution of the Franks. Indeed, the cleansing of Muslim lands after they were re-conquered represents the Muslim belief of the contamination of these lands due to Frankish presence, an idea exemplified in al-’Asfahānī’s claim the Holy Land was so unclean that

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[70] “كفّ كف الكفر عنه بإيمان الأيمان، و تطهيره من أنجاس تلك الأجناس، و أدناس أدنى الناس، و إفحام الأفهام بإخراس الأجراس” (78).
[71] Al-’Asfahānī 89, “و لما تقدس القدس من رجس الافرنج أهل الرجز”.
[72] The *hijra* was the migration of Muḥammad and his followers from Mecca to Medina in 622 AD.
[73] “ابقى الهجرتين” (Al-’Asfahānī, *Introduction* 42).
[74] “حيث الاسلام قد وهن العظم منه و اشتعل الرأس شيباً” (al-’Asfahānī 43).
[75] Refer to Chapter Three, section 3.3.1 “Al-‘Asfahānī’s *al-Fatḥ al-Qussī fī al-fatḥ al-Qudsī*.”

God himself did not accept the good deeds of his people from that land[76]. The second major element in the construction of Frankish Otherness is found in terms of the untrustworthiness of the Franks and the primitive nature of their culture (Fakhry 63).

3.4.5 Usāma Ibn Mundiqh's *The Book of Contemplation*

Ibn Munqidh provides another scope into the Muslim understanding of Frankish Otherness. Ibn Munqidh lived in close proximity to the Franks, was not always in a state of war with them, and, according to his translator Paul Cobb, is most famous today for his insightful, comedic and sometimes risqué observations on the Franks who chose to settle in the East (xxiii). While he, too, indulged in stereotypes of otherness concerning the Franks, but "we would have very little sense of what the crusades truly means to medieval Muslims without them [his writings]" (Cobb xxiv). For Usāma, the Frankish race was a race close to the beasts of the wild, fit for fighting and the carrying of heavy loads[77]. As for the rational part of human behavior, Usāma provides many instances and examples to present the lack of rationality of the Frankish people. Indeed, Usāma claimed that they were a people blessed with no human virtues, except for courage (76). Interestingly, he does not expound on the Muslim-Frankish dichotomy of purification and pollution. For him, Frankish Otherness is found in terms of their treachery and crudeness.

A major example of the untrustworthiness of the Franks comes from Usāma's own experience with them in the beginning half of his narrative *The Book of Contemplation*. Usāma informs his readers that he left his family in Egypt while he himself went into the service of Nūr ad-Dīn. After he settled there, Nūr ad-Dīn informed Usāma that he would send a message to the Frankish king, asking him for safe passage of Usāma's family and belongings – a request granted by Baldwin III. Yet, when the

[76] "لم يتقبل الله فيه من عابد حسنة" (al-'Asfahānī 81).
[77] Refer to Chapter Four, section 4.3.3 "al-Abīwardī's Poem and Usāma Ibn Munquidh's *The Book of Contemplation*."

ship bearing Usāma's family passed through Baldwin's territory, "the king send out a group of men in a small boat to sink the ship with axes" (43). As the ship sank, the king and his men pillaged everything even though Usāma's servant informed the king that the king granted them a document of safe passage. By having the king breach his own document of safe passage, Usāma presents the image of the Franks, especially this Frankish king, of being untrustworthy and incapable of keeping their own promises. Indeed, another major example of the treachery of Frankish kings and lords comes via the story of Hasanūn, a young Kurdish horseman sent by Usāma's father to Tancred, first lord of Antioch, on the horse Tancred coveted. Hasanūn raced the horse against Tancred's men and won, much to the amazement of Tancred and his men since Hasanūn was a young and of thin physique. When Tancred offered him "robes of honor" for his winnings, Hasanūn humbly asked for safe-conduct should the Franks ever defeat him in battle, a request Tancred granted. A year later, a battle ensued between the Franks and the Muslims and Hasanūn was taken prisoner.

> They took him prisoner and tortured him in a variety of ways. They had wanted to gouge out his left eye, but Tancred (may God curse him) said to them, 'Take out his right eye; that way, when he carried his shield, his left eye will be covered and he will no longer be able to see anything'" (78).

As such, the treachery of the Franks becomes clear not only in terms of violating their own promises of safe-passage and conduct, but also in terms of devising treacherous means of torture and impairment.

This attitude represents a strong dichotomy between the virtues of Muslim honor and the treachery of the Franks as seen in the narration of the actions of Ṣalaḥ ad-Dīn after the capture of Jerusalem approximately ninety years after the Frankish conquest. At the time of its capture, the memory of the fall of Jerusalem was probably very much alive in Muslim consciousness, as it had happened only a few generations previously. Indeed, the temptation and need for vengeance must have been great as the soldiers

entered Jerusalem and remembered the stories their fathers told them of the great humiliation of the loss of the Holy City. Such was the need for revenge that according to Ibn al-Athīr, Ṣalaḥ ad-Dīn himself, a man known for his chivalry in the Western world, refused the offer of peace from the besieged Franks. Ṣalaḥ ad-Dīn informed them that they shall receive the same treatment they gave the Muslims when they overtook the city in the year 491[78].When Ṣalaḥ ad-Dīn is persuaded to show mercy is evidence of the superiority of the values and conduct of a good Muslim and Islam in general over those of a 'good' Christian and Christianity in general (Hillenbrand 316). Indeed, even the safe-passage and conduct Ṣalaḥ ad-Dīn provides for the highborn ladies represents the peak of Muslim chivalry and honor.

A further distinguishing element in terms of Frankish Otherness is their crude and primitive medical practices. Usāma provides a narrative through the eyes of Thabit, a native Christian sent by Usāma's uncle to the Frankish lord of al-Munaytira[79]. Thabit returns a mere ten days later and begins his narrative by describing the patients he was required to heal: a knight with an infected abscess in his leg and a woman with dryness of humors. Thabīt continues that he began treatment for the knight with a poultice after which the abscess healed. The Frankish physician however, refused this treatment, choosing instead to amputate the knight's leg.

> The physician laid the leg of the patient on a block of wood and said to the knight with the axe, 'Strike his leg with the axe and cut if off with one blow.' So he struck him – I'm telling you I watched him do it – with one blow, but it didn't chop the leg all the way of. So he struck him a second time, but the marrow flowed out of the leg and he died instantly" (145).

As for the woman suffering from desiccation, Thabīt prescribed a humid diet. Once again, the Frankish physician refused this treatment. He believed that the woman was

[78] "اتفق رأيهم [الافرنج] على طلب الأمان، و تسليم البيت المقدس إلى صلاح الدين، فأرسلوا جماعة من كبرائهم و أعيانهم في طلب الأمان، فلما ذكروا ذلك للسطان امتنع من اجابتهم، و قال: لا أفعل بكم إلا كما فعلتم بأهله حين ملكتموه سنة إحدى و تسعين و أربعمائة، من القتل و السبي و جزاء السيئة بمثلها" (11: 262).

[79] A Frankish fortress in the Lebanese mountains near Afqa, north of modern Lebanon (Cobb, 308 n.234).

possessed, and so had her head shaved and cut the shape of the cross in her head, packing the wound with salt to expel the demon in her. Naturally, the two patients died as a result of this poor and primitive treatment. What is interesting about this narrative is Thabīt's own incredulity at the ignorance of the Frankish physician. Thabīt's shock at the actions of the Frankish physician is to the extent that he believes Usāma and his uncle would not believe him when he tells them the story. As such, he confirms his presence during the amputation of the knight's leg to assure them that he saw it with his own eyes and learned "about *their*[80] medicine" more than he had even known (146). In effect, the treatments devised by Thabīt were far less aggressive: the woman, for example, was suffering from desiccation. Based on the traditional understanding of Galenic medicine, the body was composed of four elements – hot, cold, dry and moist. These elements must be balanced in a healthy body. As such, Thabīt devised the treatment of the moist diet. Yet the intervention of the Frankish physician and the woman resuming a customary diet of garlic and mustard, both of which are "hot and dry to the fourth degree[81]" (Grmek, Fantini & Shugaar 139). As such, the diet served no purpose except to further exasperate the woman's condition, ultimately resulting in her death. This is not to say that all Frankish medicine was poorly constructed, as Usāma provides a further narrative where a Frankish king and a young Muslim boy were saved by the wonders of Frankish medicine. Yet, as Grmek, Fantini and Shugaar point out, these examples include medicines that Usāma, a learned man, would find reasonable and acceptable – unlike cutting off legs with axes and etching crosses into patient's heads (140).

[80] The emphasis is my own.
[81] The highest degrees in Galenic pharmacology (Grmek, Fantini & Shugaar 140).

3.5 Concluding Remarks

For the Muslims, the Western Christians presented a foreign foe that desecrated holy Muslim lands, while for the crusaders; the Muslims were followers of a false faith occupying the Holy Land. In the representation of the Other in both, systematic dehumanization and misrepresentation was abundant. While it is true that the crusaders eventually lost their ideology of war and assimilated into the East, they still maintained a Frankish element to them (Tuley 3). As for the Europeans in the West, the Muslim remained as uncouth and uncivilized as ever. In a sense, the failure of the crusading movement lies not in its military failure, but rather in the inability of the Western Christians to remain as a single, homogenous group with a well-established identity (Ibid. 16). As for the Muslims, the crusades had the opposite effect: the common foe led Muslim leaders to abandon their differences and focus on expelling the *franj* from the Holy City under Ṣalaḥ ad-Dīn. The Frank represented all that repugnant and undesired in a pious Muslim. The Frankish presence resulted in the rise of the ideology of *Jihād* acting as a counter-crusade to fend of the Franks. Yet, in order to understand the polemics of Muslim-Frankish relations, a consideration of the second major component of otherness must be considered: ethnicity.

CHAPTER FOUR

CONSTRUCTING AN ETHNIC OTHER

"For we who were Occidentals now have been made Orientals"[82]

In the words of Pope Urban II, the crusaders were sent to fight and expel a "vile race from the lands of your brethren" (Krey 29). Thus, compounded with religious elements, the identity of the Other was also constructed based on ethnic elements. In terms of ethnicity, culture and customs play an important role. For the most part, when the crusaders referred to the Muslims, they used ethnic words such as "Saracen," "Arab," "Turk," or "Ishmaelite." In fact, Ethnic identity results from labeling, whether done by group to itself or as a result of interaction with others (Bartlett, "Race and Ethnicity" 40). Naturally, for both sides of the spectrum, ethnic identity is formulated based on biological aspects such as skin color, eye shape, and hair type, but these are compounded with other cultural, linguistic, religious and political elements (41). Yet, the very construction of racial identity in medieval times is at times more difficult to discern than in modern times, as it was not only constructed from genealogy since environmental influence also played a major role (45). Naturally, the environment with the best races was usually an author's own environment and clime. This chapter aims at understanding the racial constructs of each side in terms of creating a different Other: Saracen or Frank.

4.1 The Latin Christian View of the Saracens

The word "Saracen" finds its origins from the Biblical figure of Sarah, wife of Abraham and mother of Isaac. Isidore of Seville[83] in *Etymologiae*[84], Book IV, presents

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[82] Fulcher of Charters, *Chronicle of First Crusade* (qtd. Krey 280).
[83] Died c. 636 AD. He served as Archbishop of Seville for three decades. Most famous for his *Etymologiae*.
[84] Also known as *Origins*. Written towards the end of Isidore's life in the seventh century. It is a compilation of "essential learning of the ancient Greco-Roman and early Christian worlds" (Barney et al. 3).

an overview of the peoples of the earth, their languages and origins. In it, he claims that the word "Saracen" is an intentional corruption of the origins of Muslims, writing

> A son of Abraham was Ishmael, from whom arose the Ishmaelites, who are now called, with corruption of the name, Saracens, as if they descended from Sarah, and the Agarenes, from Agar (i.e. Hagar) (192).

However, in the Oxford dictionary, the origins of the word are traced to the Greek word *Sarakēnos* or the Arabic word *sharqī*, meaning Eastern. Whatever the origins of the word, at the time of the crusades, it became almost synonymous with Eastern Muslims. Many early Christian scholars and chroniclers used the Bible to formulate an understanding of Saracens[85]. The conquests of the Saracens in Byzantium and Spain were seen from the prism of them being the descendants of Ishmael. In Genesis 16:12[86], Ishmael was described as a "wild man," and so his progeny was also wild and unyielding. This description, in part, was an attempt at justification of the violence of the crusaders. Norman Daniel in *Arabs and Medieval Europe* point out that the term 'Saracen' is never used to describe Christian Arabs, although it is sometimes used to describe to other non-Christian peoples[87] (53). Whatever the described people, for the most part, the word 'Saracen' was synonymous with evil (Ramey 3). Saracens were considered to be so evil that, in many manuscripts and maps, they are presented as beasts, especially dogs. In fact, this depiction of Saracens was quite popular in the Middle Ages, and found its way into many *chanson de geste* and manuscript illustrations (Friedman 67). The depiction of Saracens as dog related or dog-headed was also popular enough to appear in a world map depicting a Saracen race named Beni

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[85] Refer to J. Tolan, *Saracens*.
[86] "And he will be a wild man; his hand will be against every man, and every man's hand against him; and he shall dwell in the presence of all his brethren," *King James Bible*.
[87] In *King Horn,* a medieval romance, non-Christian Danish invaders are described as Saracens. Refer to: Lumby, J. Rawson, and George Harley McKnight, eds. *King Horn, Floriz and Blauncheflur, The Assumption of Our Lady*. London: Oxford UP, 1962. Print.

Chelib[88]. The map, perhaps inspired by their name, depicts them as a race of people with dog heads (Ibid.). Naturally, this depiction achieves the purpose of distinguishing between two types of people: ‘us’ and ‘them.’ As such, the Saracen identity slowly developed through times from early Christian reactions to those that became prevalent during the crusades, namely their idolatry and baseness of nature.

4.1.1 The Latin Christian Understanding of the World and Its People

To understand the development of the image of the Saracen, the Latin Christian understanding of the world must first be examined. During the middle ages, the people of the world were divided into categories, each with unique elements and qualities (Lampert 391). In medieval mappae mundi[89], cartographers placed the east and its peoples in the northern parts sometimes with rivers flowing down. These maps did not function as modern maps with guiding purposes, but rather as guides to the origins of humanity, and should be considered within the manuscript in which they appear and not as a stand-alone map (Akbari 69). In these maps, the world was divided into climes, and each clime affected the nature of the people inhabiting it. As such, the orient marked the beginning of mankind: temporally and geographically (Akbari 3). More strikingly, the people from the orient were “marked by the sun,” anatomically and physiologically thereby causing various manifestations in the temperament and behavior of the people of the orient (Akbari 3). A common method of dividing the world was according to the three known continents: Asia, Africa, and Europe. These continents biblically corresponded to the three sons of Noah[90], thereby providing a template of sorts to the major races of mankind. Therefore, and based on the need of racial groups to create stereotypical ‘others,’ the image of the Saracen was born.

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[88] Possibly some form of “ابن كلب” (Ibn Kalb), meaning son of a dog. There was, in fact, an Arabian tribe named “بنو كلب” (Banū Kalb).
[89] Latin for world maps.
[90] Ham, Japeth and Shem.

4.1.2 The Jew as a Template for Saracen Identity

When medieval Latin Christians were faced with the problematic Saracen identity, they turned to the image of the Jew as a means of understanding. While the Saracens did not bear the same stigma as Jews – murderers of Christ – they were still considered as demonic heretics (Strickland 165). Jeremy Cohen in "Muslim Connection" explains how the Jewish identity served as a means of both creating a Christian identity and the identities of the enemies of the Church, especially Saracens[91]. In a sense, the Jewish identity served as the 'type' where the new Christian identity becomes the 'anti-type' (Akbari 115). The use of Judaism and Jews as a benchmark against which Islam and Muslims are compared is probably due to some of the common religious elements between the two religions such as circumcision and abstinence from eating ham. For whatever reason, the closest comparison to constructing the Muslim identity for Medieval Latin Christians was the Jewish one (Southern 5). In works such as *The Song of Roland* where in at least one instance Saracens are described being pitch black and are equated with Jews in lines

> He [Charlemagne] has the city [Saragossa] searched by a thousand Franks,
> The synagogues and the mosques as well (3660)

As such, the symbol of Muslim faith – the mosque – is equated with the symbol of Jewish faith – the synagogue. Despite key differences between the Otherness of Jews and Muslims, at the time of the crusades, the Muslim threat had developed to the extent that it became the "most far-reaching threat in medieval Christendom" (Southern 3).

In this sense, Islam and its people served as a kind of negative mirror image of the Latin Christian identity (Akbari 5). As such, combining the traditional world division and the placement of the orient within it, the ethnic identity of the Saracens

[91] Refer to Cohen's "The Muslim Connection, or, On the Changing Role of the Jew in High Medieval Theology," *in From Witness to Witchcraft: Jews and Judaism in Medieval Christian Thought*, esp. pp. 141-62

becomes apparent. The association of the orient with heat as Ham, the son of Noah, is followed by an explanation of how it's people are affected by this heat as a causal agent of the "primordial passions of the Jews and heretics, which disturbs the peace of the holy" (qtd. Akbari 40). However, it should also be noted that while many writers used ethnically charged words, there was no real explanation for this ethnic terminology until the writing of Jacques de Vitry in the thirteenth century (Tuley 7).

4.2 The Muslim Other as Saracen

4.2.1 Guibert's *The Deeds*

Ethnicity, at least the medieval perception of it, played a role in the reimagined version of Guibert of Nogent's *The Deeds*. As noted previously, Guibert's protagonist of sorts is Bohemond. In *The Deeds*, he sets stage for the need for the crusade, Guibert alters Bohemond's origins, claiming that since his family is Norman and he married the daughter of the French king, then he should just be considered to be Frank (58). This falls in line with Guibert's purpose of exalting the French people by adding to them the person he thinks a great warrior. More interestingly is his depiction of the enemies in ethnic terms. For Guibert, the Muslims are at times Arabs, Turks, Persians, Saracens or any combination. He portrays the Turks as an incomparable to any other race in terms of "liveliness of spirit, or energy in battle" (68). Here, Guibert bases this comparison on the novelty of the tactics used by the Turks in defending their positions, which were so effective that the Crusader knights had no alternative but to flee. Naturally, Guibert being a zealous defender of the Franks notes that

> It was the Turk's opinion, however, that they shared an ancestry with the Franks, and that the highest military prowess belonged particularly to the Turks and Franks, above all other people (68).

Interesting, the Franks are not chided for fleeing when facing the Turks. Instead, Guibert claims that the reason for the superiority of the Turks military aptitude is a result of the common ancestry of the Turks and Franks as both people are the best in

military tactics. Indeed, for Guibert none is higher than the Franks and France is the "mother of all virtues" (80).

4.2.2 Walter the Chancellor's *Bella Antiochena*

Walter the Chancellor[92] wrote the *Bella Antiochena*[93] often translated as *The Antiochene Wars* in circa 1114 on the history of the principality of Antioch. He, too, highlighted the idea of the Otherness of the Saracens, especially in the character of his captor, Il-Ghāzī. The *Bella* itself is divided into two major books with thematic differences. The first book deals with the essential nature of carrying out Christian wars (Asbridge & Edgington, *Introduction* 11). The theme of the second book, however, is difficult to interpret. Probably written after Il-Ghāzī broke his alliance with Walter's liege lord, Roger of Salerno. Il-Ghāzī fought, won, killed Roger, and took Walter into captivity. Thus the thematic elements of the second book range from Walter's need to rationalize the Christian defeat at the hands of Il-Ghāzī[94] and to reclaim the spiritual purity of the crusaders. However, more so, Walter's own captivity and possible torture form a major influence on his interpretation of events and characters, especially Il-Ghāzī, whom he nicknames the "minister of death" (Asbridge & Edgington, *Introduction* 65; *Antiochene Wars* 133).

In Book One, Il-Ghāzī's portrayal is largely neutral. He is called an *emir* of the Turks. Indeed, Il-Ghāzī is simply "one of a number of Muslim rulers with whom the Franks engaged for the sake of practicality and survival" (Mallett 117). In fact, Il-Ghāzī is portrayed as a minor ruler, neither benevolent nor evil. However, the damning image of Il-Ghāzī is found is portrayed in Book Two. Indeed, the Otherness of Il-Ghāzī is not

[92] Not much about his life is known, but he was of French or Norman origin and served as Chancellor of the Principality of Antioch, on which he wrote the *Bella Antiochena*. Most likely, he was taken captive and tortured by Il-Ghāzī.
[93] Referred to henceforth as *Bella*.
[94] After the battle of Field of Blood. For more details on the causes and significance of the battle, refer to: Asbridge, Thomas. "The significance and causes of the battle of the Field of Blood." *Journal of Medieval History*. 23:4 (1997): 301-316.

highlighted in any form unlike the Otherness of Bursuq ibn Bursuq whom Walter distinguishes as an Other. When describing Bursuq, Walter distinguished between Turk and Persian, with Il-Ghāzī belonging to the Turks and Bursuq to the Persians (Asbridge & Edington, *Introduction* 88-9). Yet, this shifts in the second book of his chronicle.

In Book Two, Il-Ghāzī's image undergoes a drastic shift from a neutral, petty *emir*, to that of an evil, sadistic monster whose aim is to rid the world of crusaders and Christianity in general. Far removed from being a by-stander: one of the many Muslims the Franks dealt with, Il-Ghāzī takes center stage. His sadistic nature, especially in his treatment of the Christian prisoners, is highlighted in many passages from *Bella*, such as

> Led to execution, the badly wounded and the others, they fell at the hands of the heathen not only with their heads cut off but they even suffered agonising death with the skin flayed from the living and half-severed head. Also the rest, knowing they were to be tortured, spent that night in outrage and dread, desiring death with their minds, they raged at death, which was often called on again and again, not to come to them in their unhappiness (*Antiochene Wars* 132).

The torture inflicted on the prisoners, according to Walter, was severe and went beyond what was acceptable during times of war (166). Il-Ghāzī's delight at the screams of the tortured was immense to the point that Walter describes the screams as refreshment and food to Il-Ghāzī. Il-Ghāzī was also accused by Walter of inventing new techniques and tools of torture and employing psychological warfare on the prisoners, denying them water when thirsty and allowing his own men to drink their fill in front of the captives (133-6). Indeed, this vivid description brings to mind another famous sadistic torturer, Vlad III, nicknamed the Impaler for his favorite method of torture. He took pleasure in torturing the captive Muslim forces of Mehmet II approximately two centuries later[95].

Another means of Walter's demonization of Il-Ghāzī is found in his narrative of the battle with King David of Georgia who ultimately defeated Il-Ghāzī. In this battle,

[95] For more information, refer to History Channel documentary *Lost World: The Read Dracula* (2006) and the Encyclopedia Britannica article "Vlad III," http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/631524/Vlad-III.

Walter draws from biblical references comparing David of Georgia to the biblical David and Il-Ghāzī to Goliath, highlighted David as the exemplary Christian and Il-Ghāzī as the exemplary Muslim. This allows Walter to claim that while the actions of Il-Ghāzī were deplorable from a Christian perspective, they were in fact those of a good Muslim (Mallett 121; *Antiochene Wars* 134, 165, 169). By formulating this image, Walter is able to conclude that since Il-Ghāzī is a model Muslim, then all Islam is evil as it encouraged actions such as those he carried out[96] (Mallett 121).

4.2.4 Fulcher of Charter's *Deeds of the Franks on Their Pilgrimage to Jerusalem*

Another chronicler of the First Crusade, one who was actually present at its inception in Clermont and was among the crusader knights, is Fulcher of Charters. At thirty-six years of age, he set out to the East, and he remained there for thirty years. Due to his use of various date computation methods, his chronicle is confusing to read (Munro 322). Furthermore, he was not present at the capture of Antioch or fall of Jerusalem, yet his chronicle remains a major source to understanding the First Crusade and the crusaders who fought in it especially for his organization of an intricate network of motivations and experiences into a coherent narrative (Peters 47). Fulcher, like Guibert, was motivated by religious fervor, but his account is at times more realistic and truthful, especially since many of the details he presents can be corroborated from other sources on either side (Munro 323). He was with Stephen of Blois in 1096, and became the chaplain of Baldwin at Edessa, brother to Godfrey – later king of Jerusalem. He did not visit Jerusalem until 1099. When Baldwin took over the kingdom of Jerusalem after his brother, Fulcher joined him and remained there until his death (Krey 9).

Perhaps the most famous lines of Fulcher's chronicle written about twenty years after the fall of Jerusalem are the much quoted,

[96] It should be noted that the actions of Il-Ghāzī, while cruel were probably less vicious than those of others during this period of time (Mallett 125).

> Consider, I pray, and reflect how in our time God has transferred the West into the East, For we who were Occidentals now have been made Orientals. He who was a Roman or a Frank is now a Galilaean, or an inhabitant of Palestine. One who was a citizen of Rheims or of Chartres now has been made a citizen of Tyre or of Antioch. We have already forgotten the places of our birth; already they have become unknown to many of us, or, at least, are unmentioned…those who were strangers are now natives…Therefore, why should one who has found the East so favorable return to the West? (qtd. Krey 280-1).

These lines present the state of the Latin Christians and their integration in the community after the capture of Jerusalem. Indeed, Fulcher notes the blending of the identity of the Occidentals into Orientals. It seems that the crusaders at some point lost their total war ideology and instead constructed a new identity for themselves based on their presence and life in the Orient. This new identity did not lose its Latin-ness, yet it was not the same identity the crusaders arrived with (Tuley 3).

4.2.5 Other Minor Works

More interestingly is the construction of this new identity of the crusaders when taking into account the ethnic ideas of Gerlad of Wales, who at one point was selected to accompany the Bishop of Wales to recruit crusaders during the Third Crusade documented in *Itinerarium Cambriae* (c. 1191). In other writings, Gerland utilizes the common belief of environment affecting ethnicity claiming that the delicate air of the East resulted in a shrewd race, but one that is ultimately physically weak. Indeed, Gerlad explains Muslim polygamous marriage practices by noting that the Arabs are from the hot clime and are as such a lustful people, hence they were swayed by the teachings of Islam in this regard (Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales* 201-5; Bartlett, “Race and Ethnicity” 46).

Furthermore, the medieval Christian belief in a physical metamorphosis when Saracens convert to Christianity presents another means of understanding the border between the two factions. In fact, this idea is present in more than one medieval

romance including *The King of Tars*[97]. The female Saracen was especially thought to be capable of undergoing conversion (Akbari 4). In *The Song of Roland*, Braminmonde, wife of the Saracen King, is disgusted at his defeat and at Charlemagne's behest, converts to Christianity in the final stanzas. Indeed, this idea of assimilation is similar to Usāma Ibn Munqidh's claim of acclimatized Franks faring better in Muslim lands[98].

4.3 The Muslim Understanding of the World and Its People

Like their medieval Christian counterparts, Muslim geographers and cartographers divided the world into zones, each inhabited by a unique race. Interestingly, in the Muslim division, the world was composed of seven divisions: a special number in the Muslim faith with both the *janna* (paradise) and *jahannam* (hell) composed of seven layers[99]. In the Muslim perception as well, the placement of a race in a specific clime induced specific characteristics in that race, and the best zones were numbered three and four, naturally comprised of the central Muslim lands in *bilād al-shām*[100] and North Africa. On the other hand, the Franks, Turks and Slavs inhabited the sixth zone, giving the attributes of filth, treachery, and continuous pursuit of war (Hillenbrand 270). According to the 'Abbasid writer al-Mas'oudī, the Franks are the descendants of Japhet, son of Noah and their lands suffer coldness due to their distance from the sun. As for their physique, they are blue eyed with reddish hair due to damp mists (qtd. Hillenbrand 270). At the time of the crusades, these stereotypes did not alter much with works such as *The Book of Roger*[101] written by al-Idrisī[102], being accurate enough to use precise dates and names in Europe to cement its placement in the sixth

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[97] Refer to Chapter Two, section 2.6 "Concluding Remarks."
[98] Refer to section 4.3.2 "al-Abīwardī's Poem and Usāma Ibn Munquidh's *The Book of Contemplation*," below.
[99] Refer to Quran (al- ḥijr 15: 43-44) and (al-'isrā' 17: 21).
[100] Refer to Appendix B: "Maps and Figures," Fig. 2
[101] *Nuzhat al-mushtāq fi'khtirāq al-āfāq, It is a* description of the world, along with a world map. Finished in 1154, Al-Idrīsī was commissioned by King Roger II of Sicily.
[102] He was a Muslim geographer, cartographer and traveller. He lived in the court of Roger II, who commissioned *The Book of* Roger. Al-Idrīsī died in Sicily.

clime. Indeed, al-Idrisī's work "perpetuates the image of the swirling gloom of the northern regions of the world" (Ibid. 271). As such, the most important component of the Franks and their lands is the cold climate, coarse manner and lack of personal hygiene.

4.3.1 Al-'Asfahānī's *al-Fatḥ al-Qussī fī al-fatḥ al-Qudsī*

Al-'Asfahānī makes an interesting comparison between the traditional enemies of Islam at the time of Muḥammad and the enemies of Islam at the time of Ṣalaḥ ad-Dīn, when he composed his chronicle. Al-'Asfahānī describes the Byzantine *rūm* as *boghāth*, a small bird of slow flight and the Persians as *rkhm*, another kind of hatching bird. He writes that they were never true eagles threatening the rise of the Muslim world. In addition to that, the world did not posses such a wide array of weaponry and skill in wielding metal[103]. On the other hand, the enemies of Islam at the time of al-'Asfahānī were the *franj*, blond as though scorched by fire and their eyes blue as the metal they wield. The *franj* were a people from hell, without heart or mercy made of stone and not clay, unlike the rest of humanity[104]. As such, the differences between the Muslims and the Franks are set up not only in terms of their religious differences – indeed this difference is not majorly polemical since the Muslims were accustomed to Christians in their domain. Rather, they are in the physical and ethnic differences between the two groups. In the introduction, al-'Asfahānī sets up the polemic for differentiating between the old enemy and the new one, while maintaining the fright against the *franj* to be as glorious as the fight against the *rūm* and Persians of the time of Muḥammad.

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[103] "الروم حينئذ بغاث ما استنسر، و الفرس يومئذ رخم ما استبصر، و الحديد ما تنوعت أشكاله الرائعة و لا طبعت سيوفه هذه القاطعة", (43).

[104] Al-'Asfahānī, *Introduction*, 43, 44.
" شقراً كأنما لفحت النار وجوههم...زرقاً كأنما عيونهم من حديد هم فهم بقلوبهم و عيونهم يكافحون، قد نزع الله الرقة من قلوبهم...و اشتعلت نار جهلهم في فحم ذنوبهم...فظاظ غلاظ، جهنميون، كلامهم شرر و أنفاسهم شواظ...خلق الله الخلق من طين و خلقهم من حجارة فهم المكنى عنهم بوقود جهنم".

4.3.2 Ibn Jubayr's *Riḥla*

The differences, then, were not strictly religious as they were for the crusaders and the their chroniclers. Instead, the differences were based on the idea of a new enemy from the lands beyond the sea, the country of the Franks[105]. This idea is further clarified in Ibn Jubayr's travel chronicle, or *Riḥla*, in his commentary on *bilād al-shām*, modern day Syria. Ibn Jubayr notes that despite the on-going wars between the two people, the traders are not concerned with the wars. Instead, they go about their business noting the state of the tradesmen and laypeople, living their life without concern for the ongoing wars between their lords[106]. Indeed, the *Riḥla* sometimes presents a tempered version of the Franks. While Ibn Jubayr is adamant in his belief that despite the good nature of some of them, he constantly claims that one should be weary of the Franks and their deception.

In setting up the polemic for the differences between the two groups, Ibn Jubayr weaves signs and symbols of Christianity into his *Riḥla* from the beginning. This continuous employment of the cross and the church is perhaps intended to remind the general reader of the presence of the Franks in Muslim lands (Netton 31). Indeed, even in his treatment of Sicilian Christians and Crusader Franks, his judgment on the Crusading Franks is harsher and much more condemning (Ibn Jubayr 300; Kedar, 'The Subjected Muslim' 155). Naturally, this is due to the fact the Muslim world was in a state of war with the Frankish crusaders and, in Ibn Jubayr's view, the crusading Franks were an invading enemy. Even his consideration of oriental Christians and Frankish Christians, the Franks receive a more sever judgment. For example, Ibn Jubayr notes that the Christians, "النصارى", are eager to help Muslims when they are cut off on the

105 "بلاد الإفرنج".
106 "الاتفاق بينهم [أي المسلمين و النصارى] و الاعتدال في جميع الأحوال، و أهل الحرب مشتغلون بحربهم، والناس في عافية" (229).

road, providing them with food and treating them well[107]. Bearing in mind Ibn Jubayr's placement of Mount Lebanon as the borderline between the land of the Muslims and the Franks[108], his use of the word "نصارى", simply meaning Christians, supports the notion that he was discussing oriental Christians and not Latin Christians or Franks.

This different perception of the oriental Christians and the Frankish Christians also finds credence in Ibn Jubayr's comments on a Frankish wedding he witnessed in Tyre (242). His description of the Frankish woman is both of astonishment and condemnation. He notes that the Frankish woman struts to the aisle clad in expensive golden silks, and the guests and witnesses are also dressed in brightly colored silks. This is the extent of his admiration. Ibn Jubayr immediately associates this scene with the Arabic word *fitna* "فتنة", which has several layers of connotation in Arabic: the two simplest ones imply civil strife or temptation (Netton 36).

The dichotomy between oriental and Frankish Christians is also found in Ibn Jubayr's narrative episode of the boat from Acre (246). In this episode, Ibn Jubayr equates the Bulgarian Christian pilgrims on the boat heading to Jerusalem with the diseased, asking God for deliverance from their evil company[109]. Indeed, this idea is further developed with Ibn Jubayr's admiration of the custom of separating between Muslim and Christian quarters, like the quarantine of the diseased. Interestingly, when this very boat capsizes, Ibn Jubayr notes the different attitudes between the Christians and the Muslims. The Christians were wailing like children while the Muslims were pious in their acceptance of God's will (254). These contrasting images also present a means for understanding Ibn Jubayr's reaction to King William II of Sicily and the king's payment of the rescue fees when the Muslim passengers could not (Ibn Jubayr 254; Netton 34). In this sense, Ibn Jubayr presents himself as an objective observer of

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107 "و من العجب أن النصارى المجاورين لجبل لبنان إذا رأوا به أحداً من المنقطعين من المسلمين، جلبوا لهم القوت، و أحسنوا إليهم" (228)

108 "و جبل لبنان المذكور هو حد بين بلاد المسلمين و الإفرنج، لأن وراءه أنطاكية و اللاذقية من بلادهم" (Ibn Jubayr 206).

109 "أراح الله من صحبتهم بعاجل السلامة" (Ibn Jubayr 246).

the events, by giving credit where it is due. However, like all chroniclers of his time, both Muslim and Christian, Ibn Jubayr claims that the rescue effort was a result of divine miracle or intervention on behalf of the poor Muslims (254). While his treatment of oriental Christians is less severe than Frankish Christians, Ibn Jubayr nonetheless ultimately places the Muslims above all. Even when considering the benevolent actions of William II and the credit Ibn Jubayr gives him, only a few lines later Ibn Jubayr repeats his assessment of William's polytheism and misdeeds, including considering the forced conversions of Muslims (Ibn Jubayr 257; Netton 34). In terms of racial understanding, Ibn Jubayr, like others, constantly shifts between religious and ethnic labels.

4.3.3 al-Abīwardī's Poem and Usāma Ibn Munquidh's *The Book of Contemplation*

The confusion of racial terminologies seen in Ibn Jubayr is noted is his constant and almost interchangeable shift and multiple usage of both religiously and racially charged words. In many cases, Ibn Jubayr calls the Latin Christians *franj*, or Frank. Yet, at other times, when he is discussing the same *franj*, he shifts to using the word *nasāra,* "نصارى". This word has a simple, religious connotation, whilst the word *franj* has a more ethnic background. Still, at other times, Ibn Jubayr adds the word *rūm*, "روم", who were traditionally the Byzantine enemies of Islam and the word *kuffār*, "كُفّار", meaning atheists or disbelievers in God. This confusion between racial and religious labels is also found in the poem of al-Abīwardī[110] lamenting the loss of Jerusalem. In his poem, al-Abīwardī urges the Muslim population of Baghdad to revolt and help the Muslims facing the Franks, whom he incorrectly identifies with the age-old enemy of Islam, the *rūm*[111]. Indeed, this poem can easily be placed within the realm of *Jihād* poetry, as al-Abīwardī presents the image of the Muslims slaughtered by the *rūm* presenting the

[110] Abū l-Muẓaffar Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Kūfanī al-Abīwardī, born c. 457 (1064 AD) and died c. 507 (1113 AD). He composed a famous poem lamenting the fall of Jerusalem and urging the Muslim people to *jihad*.

[111] "تسومهم الروم الهوان و أنتم   تجرون ذيل الخفض فعل المسالم" (2: 156).

image of bloodied swords embedded in the skulls of the Muslims[112]. Indeed, racial identity for the medieval Muslim world was not as clearly defined as the religious identity. However, racial identity did play a major role in understanding the behavior of the Franks when the landed and remained in Muslim lands. Usāma Ibn Munqidh presents such an example in *The Book of Contemplation.* The first such example is found in the famous scenes of the bathhouse narrated by the attendant, Salīm[113]. Usāma "seems to suggest that some of the Franks, especially the knightly classes, began to go regularly to the public bathhouse, once they became settled in the Near East," which implies a change in their habits from their usual lack of hygiene (Hillenbrand 276). This change, Usāma speculates, is due to their presence in a more forgiving clime in the third and fourth zones, noting

> Anyone who is recently arrived from the Frankish lands is rougher in character than those who have become acclimated and have frequented the company of Muslims (147).

These lines indicate that while the temperament and culture of a people is determined by their climatic zone, these can be altered when the people assimilate into a different clime.

4.3 Concluding Remarks

People of different cultures distinguish between themselves and others based on a number of different factors. In terms of ethnicity, both sides had blurry definitions of their own and Other ethnicities, but that did not stop them from drawing the borders of distinction between both. Where the Arab Muslims saw blond, blue-eyed invaders, the crusaders saw base, dark-skinned heathens. Unlike religious differences, ethnic barriers were easier to cross. The Franks believed in the transformative nature of the Christian faith. The Muslims, on the other hand, believed that their superior clime would allow the Franks to rise above their base nature. This is perhaps due to the fact that racial identity

112 "ستغمد منهم [الروم] في الطلى و الجماجم" (Ibid.)
113 Refer to Chapter Three, section 3.2 "Muslim Perceptions of Christianity"

was not strictly defined and structured, and as such, it was easier to cross. Yet, in the end, these differences, whether climactic, ethnic or cultural were compounded with religious differences to further the chasm of distinction between two warring people.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION
THE HERITAGE OF THE CRUSADES

Slaughter, pillage and devastation are the most common words in the accounts of the Holy War. Only the name of the combatants change[114]

The period of the crusades presents an interesting glimpse into the formation of the identities of both the Islamic world and the Euro-Christian world. In a sense, the interaction with the Other allowed both divisions to formulate a better understanding of their own culture and beliefs via the vivid misrepresentation of the Other. Where the Muslims and Arabs saw filthy *franj*, the crusaders saw filthy Saracens. For both, the consistent dehumanization and condescension were major components in the description of the Otherness of others. The distorted image both originated from this period of time and endure in some form to this day. The image developed into one of a East-West dichotomy, embodied in the rise of the Islamic threat in the face of Western development (Rich 436).

It is doubtful that Urban II was aware of the lasting effect of his call for Crusading on both sides. Every account of the crusades must be viewed and interpreted within the framework that produced it, religiously, culturally and ethnically. However, the common thread between all of the accounts, be they chronicles, poems or travel tales, is the essential need to formulate a distinct separation between ‘us’ and ‘them.’ While the crusades are not the singular effecting element on the formation of the Euro-Christian identity, they were a major component of that identity. Indeed, noting that the notion of “European-ness” did not become established until the seventeenth century, the major defining element of what was European and what was not before the seventeenth century was Christianity (Rich 437). To be more specific, it was Western or Latin Christianity in direct opposition to Eastern or Greek Christianity and the confounding

[114] Francesco Gabrieli, *Introduction*, xvi.

presence of the "unspeakable Turk" in the East (Wright 120). The image of unmentionable foe in the East is found clearly in Guibert's *The Deeds* in which he creates a scornful and despising image of the Muslim Saracens. His representation reflects the bias of his time, and many intense descriptions he provides must be taken with a grain of salt. This same polemical image is present in *The Song of Roland* and can only be described in the most famous lines from that poem, "the Pagans are wrong and Christians are right" (1015).

From the Muslim side, the crusades represented the means through which the ideology of *Jihād* was reborn. Muslim scholars, chroniclers, poets and travel writers curse the Franks and wish them to perdition. Indeed, in many times, the Muslims used the ultimate form of exclusion when describing the Franks, *kuffār* meaning heretics (Hillenbrand 303). For them, the Franks represented the ultimate evil sent to test the Muslim faith. While some contend that some Muslim sources[115] present the harmonious assimilation of the Franks into the Muslim lands, these sources must be considered within the framework of their own narrative. Where Usāma Ibn Munquidh appears friendly with some Franks, it is due to his unusual political situation. Eventually, despite all the good humor his chronicle provides, it is clear that Usāma has a low opinion of the Franks and at times finds their presence a nuisance. As for Ibn Jubayr's *Riḥla*, his admiration for Frankish rulers such as William II only works in terms of presenting the events as they occurred. Indeed, René Grousset, a French historian saw the crusades as a celebrated predecessor to the Colonial movement,[116] an idea supported by his commentary on Ibn Jubayr's admiration of the treatment of subjects by Frankish rulers. However, when considering the full scope of the *Riḥla*, it is difficult to find credence for Grousset's claim. For Ibn Jubayr, like his contemporaries, the Franks were an enemy – an Other – that needed expulsion.

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[115] Such as Usāma Ibn Munqidh and Ibn Jubayr.
[116] "Le plus bel éloge de la colonization française" (qtd. Tolan *Saracens* xvii).

In fact, the give and take of the crusading and counter-crusading movement continued for centuries. Where some scholars note that the crusades were an indirect effect of the early Islamic conquests, they also placed the Ottoman ventures into Western Europe as a form of 'counter-crusade.' The rise of colonization in the twentieth centuries represented the continuation of this pull-push dynamic, resulting in the rise of what is commonly referred to as political Islam nowadays. By understanding the grounds of the crusades, the image of the Other – both Muslim and Christian – and the image of dilemma of the current East-West polemic becomes less blurry. As a matter of fact, the effects of the crusades ripple to our time and beg the question, would the perception of the world between the two faction been different had they not occurred, or had they been presented differently?

Appendix A:
Full Texts of Speeches and Poems

The Speech of Pope Urban II at Council of Clermont

Most beloved brethren: Urged by necessity, I, Urban, by the permission of God chief bishop and prelate over the whole world, have come into these parts as an ambassador with a divine admonition to you, the servants of God. I hoped to find you as faithful and as zealous in the service of God as I had supposed you to be. But if there is in you any deformity or crookedness contrary to God's law, with divine help I will do my best to remove it. For God has put you as stewards over his family to minister to it. Happy indeed will you be if he finds you faithful in your stewardship. You are called shepherds; see that you do not act as hirelings. But be true shepherds, with your crooks always in your hands. Do not go to sleep, but guard on all sides the flock committed to you. For if through your carelessness or negligence a wolf carries away one of your sheep, you will surely lose the reward laid up for you with God. And after you have been bitterly scourged with remorse for your faults-, you will be fiercely overwhelmed in hell, the abode of death. For according to the gospel you are the salt of the earth [Matt. 5:13]. But if you fall short in your duty, how, it may be asked, can it be salted? O how great the need of salting! It is indeed necessary for you to correct with the salt of wisdom this foolish people which is so devoted to the pleasures of this - world, lest the Lord, when He may wish to speak to them, find them putrefied by their sins unsalted and stinking. For if He, shall find worms, that is, sins, In them, because you have been negligent in your duty, He will command them as worthless to be thrown into the abyss of unclean things. And because you cannot restore to Him His great loss, He will surely condemn you and drive you from His loving presence. But the man who applies this salt should be prudent, provident, modest, learned, peaceable, watchful, pious, just, equitable, and pure. For how can the ignorant teach others? How can the licentious make

others modest? And how can the impure make others pure? If anyone hates peace, how can he make others peaceable ? Or if anyone has soiled his hands with baseness, how can he cleanse the impurities of another? We read also that if the blind lead the blind, both will fall into the ditch [Matt. 15:14]. But first correct yourselves, in order that, free from blame , you may be able to correct those who are subject to you. If you wish to be the friends of God, gladly do the things which you know will please Him. You must especially let all matters that pertain to the church be controlled by the law of the church. And be careful that simony does not take root among you, lest both those who buy and those who sell [church offices] be beaten with the scourges of the Lord through narrow streets and driven into the place of destruction and confusion. Keep the church and the clergy in all its grades entirely free from the secular power. See that the tithes that belong to God are faithfully paid from all the produce of the land; let them not be sold or withheld. If anyone seizes a bishop let him be treated as an outlaw. If anyone seizes or robs monks, or clergymen, or nuns, or their servants, or pilgrims, or merchants, let him be anathema [that is, cursed]. Let robbers and incendiaries and all their accomplices be expelled from the church and anthematized. If a man who does not give a part of his goods as alms is punished with the damnation of hell, how should he be punished who robs another of his goods? For thus it happened to the rich man in the gospel [Luke 16:19]; he was not punished because he had stolen the goods of another, but because he had not used well the things which were his.

"You have seen for a long time the great disorder in the world caused by these crimes. It is so bad in some of your provinces, I am told, and you are so weak in the administration of justice, that one can hardly go along the road by day or night without being attacked by robbers; and whether at home or abroad one is in danger of being despoiled either by force or fraud. Therefore it is necessary to reenact the truce, as it is commonly called, which was proclaimed a long time ago by our holy fathers. I exhort

and demand that you, each, try hard to have the truce kept in your diocese. And if anyone shall be led by his cupidity or arrogance to break this truce, by the authority of God and with the sanction of this council he shall be anathematized."

After these and various other matters had been attended to, all who were present, clergy and people, gave thanks to God and agreed to the pope's proposition. They all faithfully promised to keep the decrees. Then the pope said that in another part of the world Christianity was suffering from a state of affairs that was worse than the one just mentioned. He continued:

"Although, O sons of God, you have promised more firmly than ever to keep the peace among yourselves and to preserve the rights of the church, there remains still an important work for you to do. Freshly quickened by the divine correction, you must apply the strength of your righteousness to another matter which concerns you as well as God. For your brethren who live in the East are in urgent need of your help, and you must hasten to give them the aid which has often been promised them. For, as the most of you have heard, the Turks and Arabs have attacked them and have conquered the territory of Romania [the Greek empire] as far West as the shore of the Mediterranean and the Hellespont, which is called the Arm of St. George. They have occupied more and more of the lands of those Christians, and have overcome them in seven battles. They have killed and captured many, and have destroyed the churches and devastated the empire. If you permit them to continue thus for awhile with impurity, the faithful of God will be much more widely attacked by them. On this account I, or rather the Lord, beseech you as Christ's heralds to publish this everywhere and to persuade all people of whatever rank, foot-soldiers and knights, poor and rich, to carry aid promptly to those Christians and to destroy that vile race from the lands of our friends. I say this to those who are present, it meant also for those who are absent. Moreover, Christ commands it.

"All who die by the way, whether by land or by sea, or in battle against the pagans, shall

have immediate remission of sins. This I grant them through the power of God with which I am invested. O what a disgrace if such a despised and base race, which worships demons, should conquer a people which has the faith of omnipotent God and is made glorious with the name of Christ! With what reproaches will the Lord overwhelm us if you do not aid those who, with us, profess the Christian religion! Let those who have been accustomed unjustly to wage private warfare against the faithful now go against the infidels and end with victory this war which should have been begun long ago.
Let those who for a long time, have been robbers, now become knights. Let those who have been fighting against their brothers and relatives now fight in a proper way against the barbarians. Let those who have been serving as mercenaries for small pay now obtain the eternal reward. Let those who have been wearing themselves out in both body and soul now work for a double honor. Behold! on this side will be the sorrowful and poor, on that, the rich; on this side, the enemies of the Lord, on that, his friends. Let those who go not put off the journey, but rent their lands and collect money for their expenses; and as soon as winter is over and spring comes, let hem eagerly set out on the way with God as their guide."

Ibn al-Athīr's Depiction of the Motivation of the Crusades

كان ابتداء ظهور دولة الفرنج، و اشتداد أمرهم، و خروجهم إلى بلاد الإسلام، ، استيلائهم على بعضها، سنة ثمان و سبعين و أربعمائة، فملكوا مدينة طليطلة و غيرها من بلاد الأندلس، و قد تقدم ذكر ذلك.

ثم قصدوا سنة أربع و ثمانين و آربعمائة جزيرة صقلية و ملكوها، و قد ذكرته أيضاً، و تطرقوا إلى أطراف إفريقية، فملكوا منها شيئاً و أخذ منهم، ثم ملكوا غيره على ما تراه.

فلما كان سنة تسعين و أربعمائة خرجوا الى بلاد الشام، و كان سبب خروجهم أن ملكهم بردويل جمع جمعا كثيراً من الفرنج، و كان نسيب رجار الفرنجي الذي ملك صقلية، فأرسل إلى رجار يقول له: قد جمعت جمعاً كثيراً، و أنا واصل إليك، و سائر من عندك إلى إفريقية أفتحها، و أكون مجاوراً لك.

فجمع رجار أصحابه، واستشارهم في ذلك، و قالوا: وحق الانجيل هذا جيد لنا و لهم، و تصبح البلاد بلاد النصرانية. فرفع رجله و حبق حبقةً عظيمة و قال: وحق ديني، هذا خير من كلامكم! قالوا: وكيف ذلك؟ قال: إذا وصلوا إليّ أحتاج إلى كلفة كثير، و مراكب تحملهم إلى إفريقية، و عساكر من عندي أيضاً، فإن فتحوا البلاد كانت لهم، و صارت المؤونة لهم من صقلية، و ينقطع عني ما يصل من المال من ثمن الغلات كل سنة، و إن لم يفلحوا رجعوا إلى بلادي، و تأذيت بهم، و يقول تميم غدرت بيو ونقضت عهدي، و تنقطع الوصلة و الأسفار بيننا، و بلاد إفريقية باقية لنا، متى وجدنا قوة أخذناها.

و أحضر رسوله، و قال له: إذا عزمتم على جهاد المسلمين، فأفضل ذلك فتح بيت المقدس، تخلصونه من أيديهم و يكون لكم الفخر، و أما إفريقية، فبيني و بين أهلها أيمان و عهود.

Ibn al-Athīr's Description of the *Aqṣa* Mosque

و كان على رأس قبة الصخرة صليب مذهب. فلما دخل المسلمون البلد يوم الجمعة تسلق جماعة منهم إلى أعلى القبة ليقلعوا الصليب، فلما فعلوا و سقط صاح اناس كلهم صوتاً واحداً من البلد و من ظاهره المسلمون و الفرنج: أما المسلمون فكبروا فرحاً، و أما الفرنج فصاحوا تفجبعاً و توجعاً، فسمع الناس ضجة كادت الأرض أن تميد بهم لعظمها و شدتها.

Al-'Abīwardī's Poem on the Fall of Jerusalem

مــــــــــزجنا دماءً بالدموع السَّواجمِ   فلم يبق منا عرضةٌ لـــــــلمراحمِ
وشــــــرُّ ســـلاح المـــرء دمعٌ يفيضهُ   إذا الحرب شبّت نارها بالصـوارمِ
فـــإيهـــاً بنـــي الإســـلام، إن وراءكم   وقائع يُلحقن الذُرى بالـــــمناسمِ
أتـــــهويمـــة في ظـــــل أمن وغبطةٍ   وعــيش كنـوَّار الخـميـلة نــاعمِ
وكيف تنام العين ملء جــــــــفونها   علـــى هَـفَـوَاتٍ أيقظـــت كل نائمِ
وإخوانكم بالشام يُضحى مَـــــــقيلُهم   ظــهور المذاكي أو بطون القشاعمِ
تسومهمُ الـــــروم الهوان وأنــتـــــمُ   تـــجرُّون ذيل الخَفض فعل المُسالمِ
وبين اختلاس الطعن والضرب وقفةٌ   تظل لـــها الولـــدان شـــب القوادمِ
وتلك حروبٌ من يَغِبْ عن غِمارهـــا   ليـــسلَمَ، يـقـــرعْ بعدها سنّ نادمِ
سَللـــن بأيدي الـــمشركين قواضباً   ستُـغمَد منهم في الطُلى والجماجمِ
وكم من دماءٍ قد أُبيحـــــت ومن دمٍ   توارى حـــياءً حسنها بالمعاصمِ

بحيث السيوف البيض محمرة الظُبـــا وسمر العوالي داميات اللـــــهاذمِ

يــكاد لــهن المستـــجنُّ بـــــطيـبـــة ينادي بأعلى الصوت: يا آل هاشمِ

أرى أمـــــتي لا يـــشرعون إلى العِدا رمــــاحهمُ، والدين واهي الدعائمِ

ويجـتـنـبـون الثـــــأر خوفاً من الردى ولا يــحسبون العار ضربةَ لازمِ

أترضى صناديدُ الأعاريــــــب بالأذى وتُغـــضي على ذل كُماة الأعاجمِ

فـــــليتهمُ إذ لـــم يـــذودوا حــــــميةً عن الدين ضنوا غيرةً بالمـــحارمِ

وإن زهدوا في الأجر إذ حمي الوغـــى فـــــــهلا أتوهُ رغبةً في المغانمِ

Appendix B:
Figures and Maps



Figure 1:
Saracens fighting Charlemagne and his knights.

Grande Chroniques de France, Paris, 1370s. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (detail), from Debra Strickland. Saracens, Demons and Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art. Fig. 80, Pg. 170.



Figure 2:
Richard Lion Heart versus Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn.

Luttrell Psalter. Diocese of Lincoln, c.1325-35. British Library, London.
From Debra Strickland. *Saracens, Demons and Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art*. Plate no. 4, Pg.14.



Figure 3:
Thirteenth Century Arab Map of the Coast of the Levant.

From Carole Hillenbrand. *Crusades: Islamic Perspectives*. Color plate no. 5. N.p.



Figure 4:
Battle of Roncevaux.

Grandes Chroniques de France, Paris, Later 14th Century. Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels. From Debra Strickland. *Saracens, Demons & Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art*. Fig. 88. Pg. 180

Appendix C:
Historical Figures in Crusade and Levant

Alexios Komnenos (1056 - 1118)
Latinized as Alexius Comnenus. He was Alexius I, Emperor of Byzantium from 1081 to his death. Although not the founder of his dynasty, it was during his reign that it reached its zenith. His reign was marked by constant warfare between the Seljuk Turks on one side and the Normans on the other. He is perhaps most famous for his appeal to Urban II for aid, resulting in the crusade movement.

Anna Komnene (1083 - 1153)
Latinized as Comnena. She was the eldest daughter of Emperor Alexios and his wife Irene Doukaina. She is best known for writing a biography of her father, *The Alexiad*, which in part chronicles the arrival of the crusaders to the Byzantine Empire.

Baldwin of Boulogne (1058 - 1118)
Later Baldwin of Edessa then Baldwin I of Jerusalem. He was one of the major leaders of the First Crusade, along with his brothers Godfrey (later first king of kingdom of Jerusalem) and Eustace. Thoros of Edessa invited him to be his heir, which Baldwin accepted. After the assassination of Thoros, he became count and married Arda, Thoros's daughter. After his brother Godfrey died, he ruled as King of Jerusalem.

Baldwin III (1130 - 1163)
He was King of Jerusalem from 1142, while he was still a child. His mother, Melisende controlled his reign until he eventually defeated her. He failed to conquer Damascus and eventually died childless. He was succeeded by his brother, Amalric.

Bohemond of Taranto (1058 - 1111)
Also Bohemond I of Antioch. He was the eldest son of the Norman nobleman Robert Guiscard and one of the leaders of the First Crusade. With his father, he attacked the Byzantine Empire, which was one of the reasons of the distrust between him and Emperor Alexios. Bohemond was one of the people to swear to return any lands gained crusading to Alexios, but he broke that oath when he claimed the Antioch for his own. To gain Antioch, he persuaded an Armenian Christian named Firūz to open the gates and allow the Normans entry.

Il-Ghāzī (d. 1122)
Arabic: نجم الدين الغازي
His name was Najm ad-Din Ilghazi ibn Artuq and ruled over Mardin from 1107. As head of the Artukids he made no lasting alliances and frequently switched sides, allying with both fellow Muslims and Christian crusaders whenever he saw fit.

'Imād ad-Dīn Zangī (1085 - 1146)
Arabic: عماد الدين زنكي
He was the founder of the Zengid dynasty, and was the atabeg of Mosul, Aleppo, Hama. In 1144, he successfully took the County of Edessa, sparking the Second Crusade. He was assassinated by a Frankish slave. His second son Nūr ad-Dīn followed his father as atabeg of Aleppo.

Nūr ad-Dīn (1118 - 1174)
Arabic: نور الدين
After his father's death, his Nūr ad-Dīn and his brother divided the inheritance between themselves with Nūr ad-Dīn in Aleppo and Sayf ad-Dīn Ghazī I in Mosul. He carried on his father's legacy of fighting the crusaders. Ṣalaḥ ad-Dīn was under his command.

Peter the Hermit (d. 1115)
He was a priest of Amiens moved by the religious fervor of Urban II's speech to head what became known as "The People's Crusade" with disastrous results. According to Anna Komnene, in Book X, he attempted to undergo a pilgrimage before the crusades, but was prevented by Seljuk Turks.

Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb (1138 - 1193)
Arabic: صلاح الدين يوسف الأيوبي
Known in the West as Saladin. Starting the service of Nūr ad-Dīn, he ultimately became Sultan of Egypt in 1174 and reclaimed Jerusalem in 1187 after the decisive Battle of Hattīn. However, he lost the city of Acre to Richard, Lion Heart and established a three-year truce with him in 1192.

Stephen, Count of Blois (1045 – 1102)
He was the Count of Blois and Count of Charters. The son of Theobald III, he married the daughter of William the Conqueror, Adela. He was one of the leaders of the First Crusade and wrote many letters to wife abut its progress.

Tancred (1075 - 1112)
Norman leader of the First Crusade. He was the Bohemond I's nephew and accompanied his uncle on the First Crusade. He did not follow his uncle to Antioch, and was present at the fall of Jerusalem, after which he was proclaimed Prince of Galilee. There is evidence to suggest he spoke Arabic.

Urban II (1042 – 1099)
He was elected pope from 1088. He is best known for his speech at the Council of Clermont on 27 November 1095 initiating the First Crusade. He was beatified in 1881.

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